

Bayard Rustin:  
Gay outcast of  
'the Movement'

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## BORK ROAST

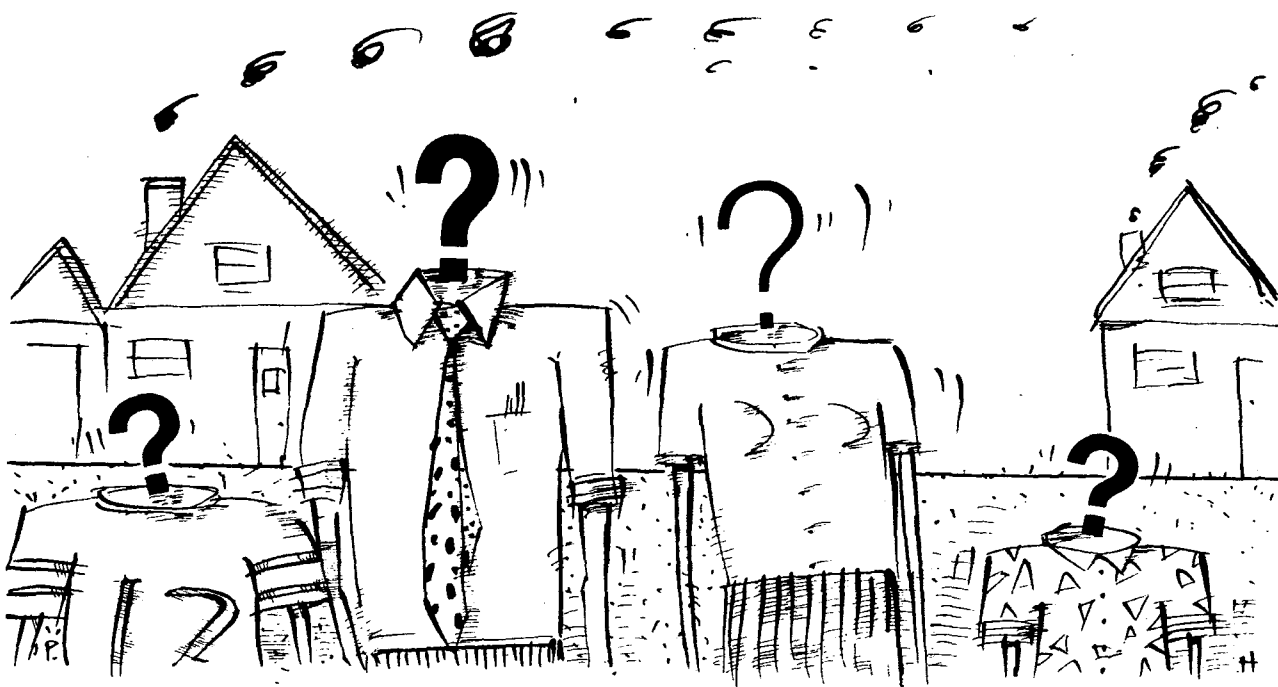
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## Who are the 'new-collar'?

By David Moberg

Consider a hypothetical family, Kevin and Sheila Hope. They're white, in their early 30s, live in a modest suburb, have two small kids. He works as a photocopy machine serviceman; she works part-time as a secretary. They both went to college but didn't finish. They stretch hard for the mortgage on their small home, but they have a VCR, a Japanese car and a small four-wheel drive pickup truck that can serve for family camping trips. They shop at Sears, flip through mail-order catalogues, listen to Bruce Springsteen. Although their fathers were in unions, Kevin and Sheila never encountered one first-hand or considered joining. Indeed, the Hopes don't belong to any organization, except for a nominal church membership.

### INSIDE STORY

They're too busy, they say, trying to make ends meet, worrying about juggling child care, about future jobs and about paying off credit card bills.

The Hopes are a "new-collar" family, to use the term coined by Ralph Whitehead, public service professor with the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. They are part of the "baby boom generation who finished high school

but probably didn't finish college," said Whitehead. He added that they "work in a middle-level job in the service economy, better than busing dishes but not as good as a coat-and-tie professional."

Since Whitehead first used the phrase "new collar" two years ago, it has been widely adopted—the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) now dubs itself "the new collar union," for example—and sometimes given broader meanings than Whitehead intended.

"The phrase 'new collar' put a simple and even visual handle on an array of economic findings that add up to an increasingly grim picture of where young adults in America stand economically," Whitehead said recently. "It's become a convenient shorthand for younger adults struggling with lots of economic pressures their parents didn't have to deal with." Such pressures might include declining real incomes or living standards with high costs of housing or child care.

**Older new collars:** Even older people are tuned into the stresses. While leading a discussion of Ohio voters 55 years or older last July, Whitehead asked what were the problems of the people's children and their friends. "Within 90 seconds, there was a chorus of voices laying out crisply a whole set of problems," including child care, home prices, college costs, job security, salary and health care. "These problems are so pervasive in the first-hand experience of young people and second-hand experience of older people, it's a lot harder for a conservative today to wave printouts and claim everything is hunky-dory," said Whitehead.

In terms of the hard scramble to keep up with expectations, the new-collar and young blue-collar family may not be very different, Whitehead said. "The big difference of new-collar worker and blue-collar worker is pretty simple: The new-collar worker has not yet had the voice and clout of the institutionalized world. The blue-collar worker lives in a world pretty extensively defined by institutions, and traditions have been stable. That stability and institutionalization is dissolving. The new-collar worker is already in a highly fluid work setting." It's a setting that may involve social relations with clients, although the factory model is also being introduced to many service jobs, Whitehead said.

But their work experience may lead many of these new collars to feel "very conscious that they're not part of the old production or union system," said Stanley Greenberg, president of the Analysis Group polling firm. "They may even feel alienated from that and feel very little identification with people in production."

The average new-collar voter may not be suffering like dislocated steelworkers, foreclosed farmers, unemployed black youth or those who have fallen through the shredded social safety net. "For younger adults the fear isn't that they'll lose their job but that they'll lose their good babysitter," Whitehead said. "It sounds cavalier to compare a babysitter with a job, but if you have a congenial

babysitting arrangement and lose it, it's a hardship."

**New-collar politics:** The Republicans would like to claim a triumphant economy next year, and the Democrats would like to point to the dark and dreary prospects of a slumping economy, Whitehead said. "But there's a good chance that neither party will have that opportunity. The economy seems to be in a gray area. The new bread-and-butter issues [of health care, education, housing and child care] give the Democrats an ability to talk sense to people about the economy while it's in this gray area," rather than to pray for recession, gloom and doom.

But these new-collar workers "really don't know where they fit into the American social and political scheme," Whitehead said. They have not been influenced directly by unions, the Democratic Party or a workplace sense of solidarity. "These people do not have an ideological objection to government involvement," he said. "But these are people who are affected a little bit more than others might be by the Republican cry of tax and spend, tax and spend. They have not experienced a lot of direct government benefits. To a large degree you want to get an idea of concrete needs these people have and work with them for ways to meet those concrete needs. If those ways involve government action, fine, as long as government action is a result of some careful consideration. They want a public sector that's high on protein and low on fat [and bureaucracy]."

Whitehead's work has captured the fancy of many political professionals. But the new collars remain elusive. "There isn't a politically identifiable new-collar person," Columbia University political science professor Ethel Klein says. "We've identified the commercial market but not the political market." That is, advertisers can segment them effectively, but they are a fuzzier, less-predictable political category. Partly it's because so many of them are "increasingly tuned out of politics" and incredibly cynical about government, Klein said—or about any large institutions, according to Greenberg.

"I think Ralph's right that there's a value structure, style of life and set of expectations," Klein said. "It makes sense that these people would somehow constitute a potential political pool that we haven't identified; but because they're alienated, they're hard to reach. There's something here, but we don't know what it is yet."

**A different approach:** "The [new collars'] consciousness is reasonably unformed," Greenberg said, "and as a result these voters are largely available to be influenced. There are a lot of issues on which they're predisposed to vote Democratic." But they demand a different approach. For example, "I don't think it makes a lot of sense for Democrats to call for a massive program of federally-funded child care," Whitehead cautions. "Too many people that sounds like public housing for kids." Instead, he said, political leaders need to understand the needs, experiences and aspirations of this amorphous bloc and try to work with them.

Politically the biggest division among new collars may be family structure, Greenberg said. There is a big gulf between the 30-year-old nurse with two kids whose husband is also a new-collar worker, for example, and the nurse who is a single mother. The latter may be most sympathetic to Democrats. "People experience a lot of their marginality through kids," Greenberg said, but the new collars may not respond to traditional appeals for empowerment or social welfare. And much as they recognize the reality of the new family structure, they cling to many older familial values.

Whitehead's work has helped push Democratic presidential candidates to talk more about education, health and child care this year, and he has certainly helped many organizers better understand this new social segment, Citizen Action co-director Heather Booth said. But new collars are hard to reach because they are beyond old pulls of party or union or New Deal ideology. They also are not a coherent bloc, like blacks, Jews, seniors, union members or other traditional Democratic constituencies.

Yet Whitehead demonstrated that this large, growing body of relatively young voters has not been lost to Democrats. And his work has pushed political strategists to pay more attention to the experience and culture of voters, to listen to what they say they need and want. That is not a bad first step. □

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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

**T**HE KEY QUESTION THE SENATE JUDICIARY Committee will face this month is what kind of Supreme Court justice would Robert H. Bork be: a precedent-minded judicial moderate in the tradition of Lewis Powell and John Harlan or a radical reactionary intent upon reversing a generation of constitutional rulings.

Bork claims to be a conservative and a traditionalist—a follower of English Whig Edmund Burke—but an examination of what he has written as a professor and what he has decided as a judge suggest otherwise. Bork is a constitutional crank whose nomination could transform the Rehnquist court into a right-wing Star Chamber.

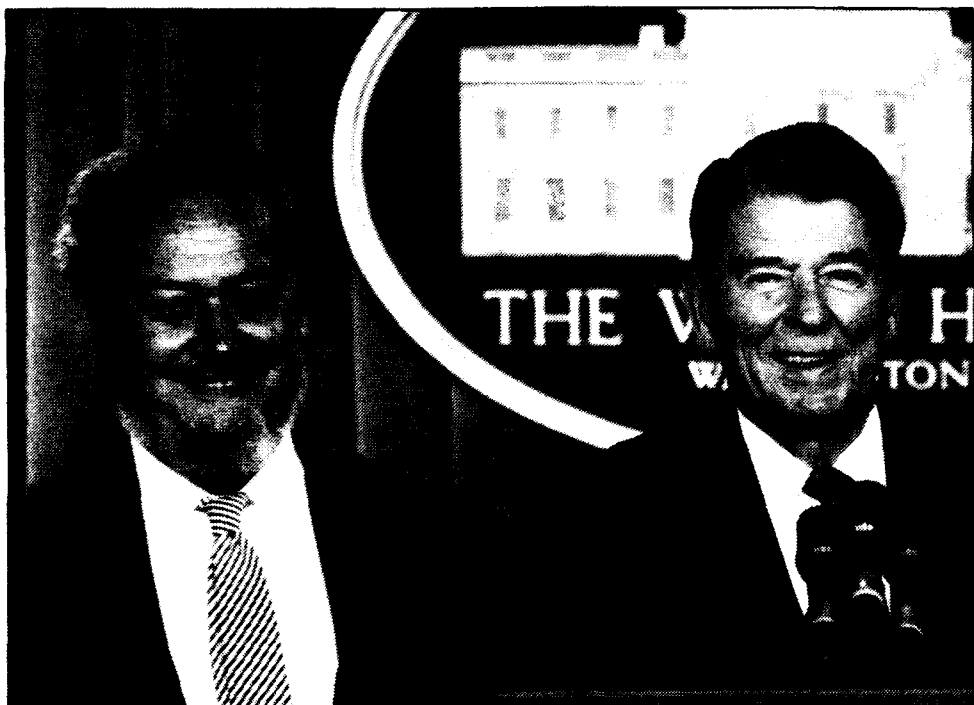
The most important source of Bork's opinions is the articles he has written for popular magazines and law journals over the past 25 years. Some of these opinions—like Bork's 1963 *New Republic* article in which he opposed a law forbidding racial discrimination in public accommodations—have proved embarrassing, and Bork has tried to deflect criticism by dividing his legal career into three parts.

The first, lasting through 1968 and spanning his study at the University of Chicago Law School and his teaching at Yale Law School, Bork identifies with the search for a universal and transcendent right. The second phase, spanning his years at Yale and as solicitor general for the Nixon administration, Bork identifies with the search for a theory of judicial restraint, which he articulated in a provocative essay in the *Indiana Law Journal*. And the last, consisting of Bork's tenure at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., he identifies with a Burkean conservatism that eschews grand theory.

In each career phase Bork has rejected some elements of his political philosophy, but he has retained other important ones. Thus, in spite of his denials, the latter-day Bork's decisions as an appeals court judge have reflected the radical right-wing economics of the Chicago School, and his judicial pronouncements continue to reflect the provocative views expressed in his 1971 *Indiana Law Journal* article. The three phases of Bork's thought are not like three successive houses that have been constructed anew, but rather a baroque monstrosity that has been successively redesigned. Additions have been built, but it has retained its original foundations.

**The Chicago School:** In his earlier articles, including the *New Republic* piece, Bork was seeking an underlying rationale—a universal right—that both summed up and transcended the rights specified in the Constitution. He praised former Justice Arthur Goldberg's concurring opinion in *Griswold vs. Connecticut*, in which Goldberg used the Ninth Amendment ("The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people") to justify the expansion of rights. Bork declared, "The idea of deriving new rights from old is valid and valuable."

In looking for a transcendent right, Bork was guided by the University of Chicago's Law and Economics Doctrine, which tried to base social and political, as well as economic, decisions on free-market criteria.



Bork and Reagan: Is the president unleashing a constitutional crackpot?

## The best argument against Bork can be found in his own writings

The Chicago Doctrine was—and is—a contemporary version of the pro-business judicial creed that prevailed on the Supreme Court in the early 20th century and that used the 14th Amendment ("nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law") to strike down any regulation of business.

In a December 1968 *Fortune* article titled "The Supreme Court Needs a New Philosophy," Bork suggested that a transcendent "presumption in favor of human autonomy" could be used to defend not only the kind of non-political speech that the court already protected, but also the "freedoms" of producers to set prices and rents and to concentrate and consolidate. Bork, a long-time foe of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, was moving toward a legal philosophy that could eliminate entirely government's claims on private producers.

But in the next few years he moved toward a jurisprudence that stressed "judicial restraint" and opposed "judicial imperialism."

**Judicial restraint:** Bork was not the first legal scholar to argue for judicial restraint, a time-honored constitutional position whose proponents have been liberal and conservative, depending upon the extra-constitutional philosophies that they believe need restraining. Thus the pro-New Deal, pro-free speech Hugo Black saw himself as a "strict constructionist" arguing against judicial conservatives who wanted to bend the First or the 14th Amendment to fit their authoritarian or pro-business proclivities.

Bork's argument for judicial restraint, spelled out in his *Indiana Law Journal* article, was perfectly sound and respectable. The court, he argued, served as a check upon majority tyranny, but it could only perform that function if it is "controlled by [constitutional] principles exterior to the will of the justices." If they began to improvise principles and rights, the court would merely be replacing majority tyranny with minority tyranny. But Bork's application of judicial restraint has been idiosyncratic.

Bork makes his strongest case for judicial restraint in criticizing Justice William O.

Douglas' majority opinion in *Griswold vs. Connecticut*, the 1965 case in which the Supreme Court threw out Connecticut's laws prohibiting contraceptive sales on the grounds that the law violated the right of privacy. *Griswold* was the constitutional precedent for the court's 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision granting women the right to abortion.

Douglas' argument rested on two dubious constitutional points: First, he claimed that the First, Fourth, Fifth and Ninth Amendments have cast doctrinal "penumbras" (shadows) that "create zones of privacy." In other words, the right of privacy is assumed by these amendments even if it is not explicitly stated by them. Second, Douglas claimed that the 14th Amendment's guarantee of liberty "protects those personal rights that are fundamental, and is not confined to the specific terms of the Bill of Rights." In other words, the right of privacy is a fundamental liberty protected by the amendment.

The problem with Douglas' argument is that it reads prevailing social notions into the Constitution the same way the Supreme Court of 80 years ago read prevailing economic ones into the Constitution. Where Douglas saw a right to privacy in the 14th Amendment, those justices saw a "liberty of contract." Indeed, as Bork had argued in *Fortune*, the right to privacy could easily be extended to entrepreneurs.

But Bork exploited the weakness of *Griswold vs. Connecticut* to argue that the very conflict on which it and later *Roe vs. Wade* was based—individual rights versus legislated religious morality—was not susceptible to constitutional adjudication. He compared the conflict between the state that wants to bar contraceptives and the couple that wants to use them to the conflict between the state that wants to regulate pollution and the consumer who resents the resulting higher prices. Bork also extended the concept of judicial restraint to cases where its use was not justified.

**Limited free speech:** In his *Indiana Law Journal* article, Bork conceded that it was impossible to decide most constitutional

cases strictly on the basis of what the framers thought. Neither they nor the post-bellum authors of the 14th Amendment would have ruled against school segregation, for instance. But Bork insisted that each amendment expresses certain "core values" from which decisions can be derived, irrespective of a judge's political beliefs or values. As legal philosopher Ronald Dworkin has demonstrated, however, the judges have to choose the level of generality at which a provision's core values are expressed. In making that choice, a jurist inevitably introduces his own politics and values.

Bork's analysis of the 14th Amendment is a case in point. In justifying *Brown vs. Board of Education*, Bork uncovers a "core idea of black equality against government discrimination." But Bork rejects the idea that the amendment's unspecific requirement of equal protection applies to any groups but blacks. Thus he rules out the use of the 14th Amendment to protect political rights of disenfranchised city dwellers in the court's one-man, one-vote reapportionment decisions. And he rules out the use of the amendment to protect women against discrimination. He also argues that it only applies to discrimination against blacks by government. Thus he criticized the court for ruling against racially restrictive real-estate covenants in *Shelley vs. Kraemer*.

Bork's analysis of the First Amendment is even more idiosyncratic and reactionary. Completely eschewing judicial restraint, Bork ignores the amendment's literal text and insists that it is necessary "to construct our own theory of the constitutional protection of speech." Bork's own theory, rooted in his political propensity, is that the amendment covers only "explicitly political" speech. "There is no basis for judicial intervention to protect any other form of expression," he wrote in the journal.

Bork also contends that the amendment does not apply to speech "that advocates forcible overthrow of the government or any violation of law." Applying this to the civil-rights movement, Bork would have jailed not only those who committed civil disobedience, but those who advocated it as a form of protest.

**Crabby neo-conservative:** The *Indiana Law Journal* article remains Bork's creed. In an October 1985 interview with *Conservative Digest*, Bork said, "I finally worked out a philosophy which is expressed pretty much in that 1971 *Indiana Law Journal* piece which you have probably seen." He has not repudiated his interpretation of the First or 14th Amendment. He has not even modified his view that the First Amendment protects only political speech.

In his confirmation hearings for the Court of Appeals in 1982, Judiciary Committee Chairman Strom Thurmond asked Bork whether he still held that the Constitution protected only explicitly political speech. Bork replied, "It seems to me that the application of the concept of neutral principles to the First Amendment reaches the result I suggested." In short, Bork said that since appeals court judges rule on precedent, his own views were not relevant. He did not say he had changed his view.

In the past decade Bork has grown less theoretically inclined. He has absorbed Burke's anti-intellectualism rather than his gradualism and respect for historical prece-

Continued on page 22



Joel Bleifuss

## Op-ed therapy

Are you a Congress member who is worried about the potential for a Gulf war? A recent grad now in government service who balks at shifting to the Capitol mode? A journalist having trouble taking the pragmatic world view? The *Washington Post's* "Outlook" is at your service. The paper's op-ed section recently prescribed a heavy dose of geo-psychotherapy for timid empire-builders—*"Death and the Dark Side of Command,"* an essay by Vietnam vet Fred Downs. He begins his story: "Your job is to kill the enemy and take ground! After you finish four years here I want you to realize all of your training comes down to that bottom line.... I made that statement during a lecture on 'leadership' I gave to military students in the spring of 1986. I had looked out over the young faces of the men and women cadets and it suddenly struck me that these innocent, naive, almost-officers could soon be in charge of an infantry platoon, preparing to fight the enemy. I mused how woefully unprepared they were for the reality of what they would be facing.... Needless to say, I got their attention. I also got the attention of someone else in the audience, a high-ranking officer.... Afterward I was admonished: 'We do not call it 'killing.' We call it 'serving the target.' This struck me as absurd.... That attitude illustrates a lack of mental preparedness for war within the U.S. military that ought to bother all of us—especially at a time like this when our armed forces could be drawn into combat in the Persian Gulf or Central America.... Kill- ing is the army's major function during war. Yet it is the least understood, most ignored and least discussed aspect of a young officer's training as a platoon leader.... An officer must understand that in his platoon there will be men who will not be able to kill, and who will do anything to get out of combat. Most of these men should have been weeded out before they get into a combat unit.... Many of the rest who don't want to kill but can be forced to do so will need constant reassurances that they are doing the right thing.... They will look first to their immediate officer for their assurance of support.... The young officer must realize that the losses among his men will already have been factored into strategic planning.... To increase his chances of success on the battlefield, the young officer must understand that he will lose men, and other aspects of the dark side of combat, before the shooting starts." Next week: "Nuclear War and the Dilemma of Leadership."

## Contragate honor code

"Admiral John P. Ponder and I graduated together on June 4, 1958, from the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis," writes J.G. Brewer in the *Mill Valley Advocate*. He describes how an Annapolis education molded the minds of Ponder, Bill McFarlane (class of '59) and Lt. Col. Oliver North (class of '68). Examining the school's honor code, Brewer says, "It was actually a rather loose set of mostly unwritten concepts intended to make sure that our superiors would be able to properly believe us when we answered their questions or demands. Basically our code at Annapolis informed us it was prohibited any lying or cheating in Navy life.... But the main distinction of the Annapolis honor code, as opposed to those of other military schools like West Point, was that it forbade reporting of classmates. We may not have respected a classmate who lied or cheated, but we didn't turn him in. We were to float down through our service careers and our years as a gradually diminishing foot of boys, holding each other up 'til death.' And after discussing intellectual rigor-mortis at Annapolis, Brewer concludes: "The academy turns out fighters and leaders for the front lines, not talkers and thinkers. A tight little mutual support group, brought up to feel uncomfortable and to mistrust outsiders, is not likely to delay action while discussing things among themselves, much less with Congress. A group of old boys who grew up on a compartmentalized honor system apparently had little difficulty drawing boxes around the problem at hand to conveniently separate it from such relatively unimportant concerns as the law, the Constitution, or the press and public. John Ponder, and to some extent North and McFarlane, too, have maintained honor within their peer group. The rest of us really don't matter."



Kathleen Gallagher in drag as Sen. Alan Dixon (D-IL) solicits support against contra funding on the streets of Chicago.

## Chlordane sales suspended, but use continues

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has finally banned further sales of chlordane—a carcinogenic pesticide commonly used by exterminators to rid houses of termites. However the agreement reached with the poison's manufacturer, Velsicol Chemical Company, does not stop chlordane's use.

According to EPA press officer Albert Heier, the weekend before the August 11 announcement Velsicol and EPA reached a settlement. Although Velsicol will stop selling chlordane in the U.S., the EPA agreed to allow exterminators to continue to inject their remaining stocks of the chemical under houses. A Velsicol study submitted to the EPA shows carcinogenic fumes from chlordane can seep into living areas for at least a year after application.

Furthermore, Velsicol will continue to manufacture and market chlordane overseas. Spokeswoman Donna Jennings said the company has "significant" sales of the chemical in Australia, Latin America and Europe.

Prior to the announcement efforts to ban chlordane had intensified. Trying to force EPA action, the National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides (NCAMP) filed a lawsuit June 29 to force the agency to use its emergency powers to end all chlordane use immediately.

The suit, filed in Washington fed-

eral District Court, also seeks an immediate ban on heptachlor, aldrin and dieldrin. These compounds, along with chlordane, are cyclodienes, a class of chlorinated hydrocarbons noted for their ability to persist in the environment.

That persistence makes them economical and, critics say, deadly hazards. Pest control operators describe cyclodienes as having a "good kill." Environmentalists cite studies that show the chemicals can cause cancer, birth defects, nerve damage and other maladies. Furthermore, cyclodienes accumulate, and remain, in mammals' fat tissue.

On April 22 *In These Times* reported the EPA's promise to rule on the cyclodienes "soon," but the decision took four months. By postponing that announcement three times, the EPA guaranteed Velsicol one last lucrative season. An estimated 500,000 homes will be treated with chlordane this year, most of them in the summer, the peak season for both insects and pest-control companies.

Steve House, a former termite specialist for a major pest control firm, gave an affidavit for the NCAMP suit. House worked with chlordane and aldrin for only four and a half years. He has severe liver damage, chronic headaches and skin rashes and has suffered a nervous breakdown—all symptoms of cyclodiene poisoning. The pesticide levels in his blood are high. This summer, a doctor told him to stop working around the chemicals. House said he hasn't been near the pesticide in almost two years.

"I almost feel as if I got a death sentence passed on me and I'm just waiting for Mother Nature to throw the switch," House said. The misuse of the chemicals by exterminators is common, he said, recalling instructions to pump chlordane near wells and underground water supplies.

The problem with termite control is more than the choice of chemicals. It's the structure of the pest control industry. The more chemicals the exterminators pump, the more they earn. "The whole system is based on production quotas," House said.

NCAMP hopes the federal courts will agree the EPA's failure to immediately ban the cyclodienes is endangering the public health. Orkin, a major pest control firm, has already voluntarily stopped using chlordane. But if court hearings drag on until corporate cyclodiene inventories are depleted, more homes will be permanently contaminated.

"I'd like to give one of these guys in the EPA an ultimatum," House said. "Let me come out and inject [chlordane] around your house. You tell me that you're comfortable sitting on top of it. That it's harmless, it can't hurt your family."

At the press conference announcing the EPA's deal with Velsicol, a reporter asked EPA administrator Jack Moore if he would allow his house to be treated with chlordane. Moore said no. But his agency's actions on chlordane have put corporate convenience ahead of public protection.

William K. Burke



## Domestic violence: a crime, not a civil infraction

The debate over how the criminal justice system should best deal with domestic violence got a public airing in Chicago recently when Alderman Lawrence Bloom proposed to cut the city budget by having civilian counsellors, instead of police, handle domestic disputes. The resulting controversy not only killed his proposal, it also highlighted some common misconceptions about domestic violence.

Jerry Gladden, a former Chicago police officer and now chief investigator of the Chicago Crime Commission, a privately-funded watchdog of the city's criminal justice system, shares a fear of many that civilian counsellors, unarmed and without power of arrest, could, he says, find themselves with "nothing they could do except get thrown down the stairs." Gladden based his opposition to the proposal on the belief that disproportionate numbers of police are hurt and killed in domestic cases.

But a recent National Institute of Justice study, "Danger to Police in Domestic Disturbances—A New Look," disputes this claim. The study examines data from several sources in several cities, and concludes: "These incidents are proportionately less likely to result in an officer death, given the frequency

with which such assignments occur." Furthermore, preliminary data from the FBI reveals that of the 66 officers murdered in 1986, only one was killed on a domestic call.

That study, issued by the Department of Justice's research branch, explains that for many years the FBI lumped domestic disturbance calls with other kinds of disturbances when compiling annual crime statistics. Though many police and others interested in law enforcement believe that domestic calls make up the largest part of this category, it mainly encompasses incidents such as bar fights, gang calls and general disturbances.

But although the plan to use civilian counsellors may be safe, it may also be costly. Edwin Bishop, deputy superintendent of the Chicago Police Department, says Bloom's plan may have merit, but that its implementation would not save tax dollars. Bishop points to the criminal justice system's failure to curb domestic violence, and explained that "adequately trained" civilians specializing in domestic intervention "could pull together all of the agencies and professionals who have the expertise to solve the problem." But such a program would require as many as 72 additional employees without any reduction in the number of police officers, says Bishop.

And Kathleen Quinn, executive director of the Illinois Coalition against Domestic Violence, says

the proposal's approach is simply out of step with national law-enforcement trends. "[The proposal] flies in the face of everything we know and everything we've learned about domestic violence," she says. Quinn cites Justice Department studies that conclude that the most effective deterrent to spouse abuse is arrest and prosecution of the perpetrators. And since one-third of all females murdered are killed by domestic violence, she says, "to treat it as trivial is inappropriate."

According to the Washington, D.C.-based Crime Control Institute, 46 percent of U.S. cities with populations of 100,000 or more have policies that make arrest the preferred course of action in domestic violence cases. These policies encourage and sometimes require police to arrest an abuser when there is probable cause, even if the victim declines to sign a complaint. Proponents say such required arrests are needed because of the reluctance of many wives to prosecute their husbands.

Bloom himself is rethinking his position. He now says that when he proposed the program, he was discussing "innovative ways of providing services" for city residents while saving tax dollars. He believes that his proposal "obviously requires much more thought and research" and that he "shouldn't have thrown it out" without a more thorough knowledge of the issue.

Lynn Travers

zation officials make their last scheduled inspection in early September.

Since construction began in 1969 at an estimated cost of \$128 million, the plant has been hit with construction setbacks and cost overruns that reportedly have increased the price tag to more than \$3.5 billion. The plant will operate with two of the problem-plagued General Electric BWR/5 Mark II reactors (see *In These Times*, July 8) sold to Mexico in 1972.

Recently a growing number of people have rallied behind a vocal anti-Laguna Verde coalition that claims the plant is poorly constructed and lies on an earthquake fault. The controversy's most recent twist was an August 12 announcement by a Federal Electricity Commission official that in addition to Laguna Verde, Mexico plans to build three other nuclear plants by the year 2000.

Late last year the seven Veracruz bishops issued a joint pastoral letter that cited the "imminent risk of lethal contamination" from radiation leaks and the "genetic consequences for all species of life." The bishops called on the government to avoid these risks by "converting the plant to use nearby natural resources, such as natural gas." They confirmed their position in a Lenten pastoral letter.

Nevertheless, Mexico City's Cardinal Corripio heaped praise on the

plant's safety system during his July 30 visit. According to *El Dictamen of Veracruz*, Corripio said that the plant design included "the most scrupulous safety measures which will avoid any problem of contamination.... There is no risk to human life, nor to plants, nor animals. I am very impressed by the safety measures."

The cardinal was reportedly flown to Veracruz in a private jet belonging to the government-backed national electricians' union, which is contracted to provide the labor for construction and operation of the nuclear facility. An August 12 press release by the cardinal's Mexico City office did not deny this. According to the statement, Corripio went to Veracruz to "celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Parish of Our Lady of Light" and while there "took advantage of an invitation [to visit the plant]."

The press release denied that the Cardinal had actually blessed the nuclear plant, as was reported in the Mexican press.

In keeping with church protocol, the bishop of the local diocese, Bishop Padilla y Lozano, accompanied the visiting cardinal on his tour of the facility. But he later told reporters that neither he nor the other Veracruz bishops had altered their position on the dangers of the nuclear plant.

Mike Tangeman

## Refuse on the rebound

In June former Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) director William Ruckelshaus joined the board of Browning-Ferris Industries (BFI), the country's second largest toxic waste dumper. According to the Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes of Arlington, Va., the company is having legal problems. The Justice Department has filed a suit on behalf of the EPA and the state of Louisiana against BFI for massive violations at its Livingston, La., toxic landfill. The resulting fines could top Waste Management's—the number-one toxic dumper—record of \$15 million. BFI is also in court, or the object of grand jury investigations, in Michigan, Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Arizona, Ohio, California, Vermont and Georgia. Some of these cases involve allegations that BFI and Waste Management conspired to rig contracts, fix prices and carve up the trash market. On a related note, the National Wildlife Federation has named Dean L. Buntrock, head of Waste Management, to its board of directors.

## Boycott baloney

The boycott against Coors is not over, only the AFL-CIO's support for the boycott. Several weeks ago the labor federation reached an agreement with Coors guaranteeing that the building trades unions would do all future construction for the company. Coors also agreed not to interfere in AFL-CIO attempts to organize its brewery workers. In making this deal, the AFL-CIO preempted attempts by the Teamsters, who are also trying to organize the plant. A source who has worked on the boycott but who asked not to be identified, said of the AFL-CIO settlement: "You read about the victory and what the fuck is it? Some construction jobs. That's fine for the building trades who put virtually nothing into the boycott. But we didn't carry on the boycott for 10 years just for that." This person suspected that AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland agreed to the Coors settlement as a favor to the construction unions that are his power base. He also said that the AFL-CIO employees who had directed the boycott were not included in the negotiations with Coors and only found out about the agreement the night before it was announced. The source said the boycott will continue without AFL-CIO support. "Coors plays a very sinister role in American life. We have no reason to drink Coors when some of the profits from every bottle go to the ultra-right."

## Hispanics say no

"Not all Hispanics are abusing drugs," said Beatrice Rouse, statistician for the National Institute on Drug Abuse. She gave this good news to a group of Mexican and U.S. health-care workers who were attending a human services symposium in Mexico City, reports Rachel Sternberg. "Sometimes I think we need to be reassured that not all Hispanics are abusing drugs," Rouse told the jaw-dropped audience. "Having been to Texas, I know that there are Hispanic leaders who may well be national leaders, that there are Hispanics out there who are not drug users, or who used it and gave it up, who will go on to make important progress for the U.S. and for their community."

## A nut, a dolt and a bad screw

It's not common knowledge that former Secretary of the Interior James Watt now sits on the board of Jerry Falwell's PTL Ministries, helping that friendly fascist resurrect Jim and Tammy's fallen empire.

## What does God know, and when did he know it?

Cardinal Obando y Bravo, the Nicaraguan prelate who has received U.S. dollars for unknown indulgences, refuses to blame the *contras* for the July 3 death of a Franciscan monk. Tomas Zavaleta of El Salvador was killed in Matagalpa province when the truck he was driving hit a land mine. A priest who had been travelling with the Franciscan has blamed the *contras*, saying that they planted the mine in the expectation that Zavaleta's truck would be returning along the same road it had covered two hours earlier. In what was interpreted as an oblique hint that the Nicaraguan government had set the mine, Obando said, "Only God knows who did it." To which President Daniel Ortega replied, "Only God knows how much money Obando has received from the CIA."

## Mexico's nuclear power controversy: one cardinal vs. seven bishops

MEXICO CITY—The Mexican Catholic Church hierarchy has entered the fray on both sides of the controversy over Mexico's first nuclear plant, scheduled to come on-line this fall in the Gulf Coast state of Veracruz.

In an unusual move, Cardinal Ernesto Corripio, archbishop of Mexico City, visited the Laguna Verde nuclear plant July 30 and blessed a nearby church under construction. He told a local newspaper that he "was impressed by the [plant's] safety measures that ensure there is no risk to human life."

In visiting the plant, Corripio—Mexico's only active cardinal—disregarded an unwritten rule that each bishop is responsible for matters within his own diocese. He also contradicted seven local bishops in the state of Veracruz—including the president of the 90-member Mexican Bishops Conference—who had called for a halt to the plant's construction.

The Laguna Verde facility, located about 280 miles east of Mexico City and 900 miles due south of Houston, is set to go on-line after International Atomic Energy Organi-





"Chac 4 Ans," or "Every Four Years," is a slogan in the push for democratic Haitian elections.

## Wave of violence undermines democracy

By Anne-christine d'Adesky

PORT-AU-PRINCE

**A** WAVE OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE HAS SHAKEN Haiti recently, and has undermined an already fragile democratic process. While the national goal remains open presidential elections in November, the political reality today is one of random violence, assassination and the disappearance of civilians by armed, uniformed men.

This anonymous violence has accompanied weeks of anti-government protests by a coalition of opposition groups made up of political parties, unions, student groups and religious organizers. Many Haitians believe the slayings that have occurred are the work of the infamous *Tonton Macoutes*, a private militia that governed Haiti by terror under former dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier.

More importantly, political leaders here believed that the provisional National Government Council (CNG) is at least partly responsible for allowing the *Macoutes* to reorganize and undertake their campaign of terror. While moderate presidential candidates are pleading with the CNG to take charge of the situation and stop the killings, many Haitians have joined the opposition groups calling for the CNG to step down.

**"The mentality of fear":** "The CNG has lost control of the situation," said Haitian lawyer and human-rights advocate Gerard Gourgue. "It's the mentality of fear and repression by the army that have made people afraid."

So far at least 30 people have been killed and 200 injured in anti-CNG demonstrations since early July. The protests were prompted by the CNG's failed effort to effectively organize the upcoming elections. Soldiers fired shots into crowds of unarmed civilians and used tear gas to break up the protests.

These official acts of violence were ac-

companied by two separate incidents where civilians were killed in which the army and the *Tonton Macoutes* are being implicated. On July 30 at least 150 peasants and 10 Catholic missionaries were found massacred by machetes in an apparent conflict over land reform.

And on August 2, a prominent Haitian democratic political leader and avowed anti-communist was similarly slaughtered, along

### HAITI

with two aides, by a crowd of 150 peasants. According to the opposition coalition, the "Committee of 57," well-known *Tonton Macoutes* who have been integrated into the small Caribbean country's army, are behind the murders.

Although the CNG officially disbanded and disarmed the *Macoutes* after Duvalier fled Haiti in February 1986, committee members say that the ex-militia is now armed again. Some *Macoutes* are members of the newly-formed militia corps called the Service for

Criminal Research, a kind of security branch, they said.

According to Dr. Jean-Claude Bajoux, a prominent member of the Committee of 57, this new corps is backed by military strongmen Col. Jean-Claude Paul and Col. Prosper Avril, men considered *Macoutes* by many Haitians.

Bajoux heads the Ecumenical Center for Human Rights here, a place where Haitians from all over the island have been coming nearly every day to relate the disappearance of a family member or friend. To date, Bajoux has received no response from the CNG or army to the many complaints of disappearances he has documented since this latest round of violence began two months ago.

**Elections and the army:** As Bajoux sees it, "The political reality is that the government wants to provoke a mass absenteeism at the elections, which is why they have started their campaign of terror."

Bajoux believes the CNG, which is made up of two army men and one civilian, must be replaced with a coalition of civilians—

**Political violence has accompanied weeks of anti-government protests by a coalition of opposition groups. Many Haitians believe the slayings that have occurred are the work of the infamous *Tonton Macoutes*, a private militia that governed Haiti by terror under former dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier.**

including moderate and more radical democratic leaders, union officials, community organizers and the representatives of the progressive church. But he refuses to consider keeping the military in power, or letting CNG head Gen. Henri Namphy share in the task of guiding Haiti to free elections. He and other opposition organizers think that unless the CNG goes, only 5 percent of Haitians will vote. "Our priority must be the full participation of all Haitians in this election, even if it means putting it off for some time," he said.

Moderate leaders fiercely disagree with this analysis. "We must have elections, and we must make a compromise to avoid a confrontation between these opposition groups and the CNG," said presidential candidate Leslie Manigat, who heads the Assembly of Progressive National Democrats. "Right now the situation is so grave that if it continues it will destroy the country and the electoral process."

Manigat has presented a proposal that may unite moderates. It's a plan to enlarge the CNG with civilians but retain a member of the army selected by the army. As Manigat sees things, the army will not agree to give up power regardless of strikes, protests and other popular manifestations of discontent with the military's domination of Haiti. "We need to politically negotiate with the CNG—it's our only way out," Manigat concluded.

**Uncle Sam's vote:** The U.S. agrees with the moderate camp about the need for elections. An embassy source said that the U.S. has continued to support the CNG because the provisional council represents "the best hope for stability in Haiti at this time." And although the State Department last month reproached the Haitian military government for its human-rights record, the criticism came as the U.S. released military aid it had withheld from the CNG all summer. Observers interpreted the release of the last \$500,000 of \$1.6 million in 1987 U.S. military aid as an effort to stabilize the CNG.

While the U.S. officially supports all democratic efforts in Haiti, U.S. officials have a clear alliance with certain individuals.

Dr. Louis Roy heads the list of U.S. favorites. The head of the Association for the Defense of the Constitution, Roy may be tapped to step up to the CNG, according to high-level Haitian and U.S. sources. In Roy's case, there is the political advantage that he is considered "clean." He never served in Duvalier's government, unlike several leading presidential candidates.

Roy, who is not a declared candidate, hopes that the moderates and the radicals, including the small-but-growing Haitian United Communist Party, can come to some understanding or joint position with regard to the CNG, in order to "save the election." To him, unity is necessary to fight the *Macoutes* and their right-wing civilian counterparts, the Duvalierists, as well as the far-left groups who are now advocating armed revolution to oust the CNG.

"The '57' realize the danger of the generals. That is why there is a timid gesture to reconcile with the moderate camps," said Roy.

But Bajoux explained the Committee of 57's outlook this way: "We are now trying to provoke a mobilization in the entire country. There are two possibilities as we see it: Either we have a quasi-official government and we have 300,000 boat people arriving in Florida, or we have democratic elections."

Anne-christine d'Adesky is a U.S. journalist.



By David Niddrie

JOHANNESBURG

**T**HE ENDURING IMAGE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN miners' strike is that of a single black miner held aloft on the shoulders of a dozen others soaked by the first chilly rains of the country's spring, using his helmet to beat on the huge metal doors of the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg's financial district.

Officials peered nervously out of the windows at the 1,000 miners protesting outside on August 25, but the massive solidarity of the chamber building, typical of South Africa's mining industry, was unmoved. So, too, was the strike itself. Once the six mining corporations grouped in the Chamber of Mines closed their door on the miners' demand for a 30 percent wage increase—which would have given the average gold miner a monthly wage of \$260—the 300,000 strikers could inflict damage but not defeat.

The three-week strike, numerically the biggest in South African history, "demonstrated the ability of both employers and employees to deliver and withstand pain," Anglo American Corporation labor relations adviser Bobby Godsell conceded afterward. The industry's pain was worth more than the \$150 million in foregone profits, according to calculations by the independent Labour Monitoring Group. The miners gave up about \$15 million in lost wages.

But the chamber has a high pain threshold: Mine exports account for more than two-thirds of South Africa's total foreign earnings of \$19 billion (gold and coal alone bring in just about half). And Anglo American, the biggest of the six chamber members, owns or controls more than 60 percent of the companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Sanlam and Liberty Life, which own or control respectively Gencor and Gold Fields of South Africa—ranked second and third in the chamber line-up—account for a further 15 percent.

**Dipping down:** The August 9 strike by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was thus not so much an attempt to pressure the strikers' immediate employers, the mine bosses, as to take on the entire South African economy.

To top the scales further, the chamber could dip into the mass ranks of unemployed in rural "homelands" and in neighboring countries to replace any strikers they chose to sack. In Lesotho, where an estimated three out of four economically active males migrate to work in South Africa's mines, 5,000 unemployed workers flocked to the chamber's recruiting office in Maseru when Anglo American began firing workers a week into the strike. And in Mozambique, 10,000 former miners live permanently outside the chamber's employment office at Resanno Garcia, near the South African border, waiting for work. And with most of the strikers living in company hostel compounds, controlled by the mines' paramilitary security forces, the mines were able to ban meetings throughout the strike and isolate strikers from union leadership for most of the three weeks. Finally, the mining houses could, and to a limited extent did, benefit from government intervention. Pretoria helped either through the actions of its police or by cutting off foreign financial aid to the union, a crucial factor in a country where strike funds are illegal.

In a strike started just two days short of the 31st anniversary of the last major miners' strike—in which the mines called in police to break the walkout by forcing 70,000 workers down the shafts—both mining manage-

# The miners' strike: Not a victory, but it was far from a total defeat

ment and the government actively limited visible state intervention in the strike. Most of the six striker deaths and 500 injuries came in clashes with mine security. Police intervention was localized and did not decisively influence the outcome. The South African Reserve Bank moved to suspend funding to the NUM only in the strike's third week.

The chambers' winning card—played mainly by Anglo American, the worst hit of the six, losing an estimated \$96 million—was to begin systematically dismissing workers mine-by-mine at the 40 affected gold and coal mines, and to step up recruitment mainly in Lesotho. According to NUM General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, this forced the union to begin settlement talks that concluded with agreement on the chamber's original offer of 16 percent to 23.5 percent increases on miners' average \$200 monthly income. At the start of the strike, NUM had

**"We taught them a very expensive lesson. They didn't teach us the lesson they expected to teach us. They didn't break the union."**

**—union leader Cyril Ramaphosa**

been counting on avoiding mass dismissals because of the mines' assumed need to rapidly resume production. It was a miscalculation that cost the union the strike.

By August 27 Anglo American had sacked 30,000 strikers. The process has continued since the settlement, with a further 41,000 workers sent home. Union officials charge

that the process will enable management to exclude union officials and organizers from the mines.

**Lessons learned:** The union had not banked on the mines being able to lose \$8 million a day in profits for a long period, and a proportion of that after the strike's end, merely to weaken the union. "We thought we

## SOUTH AFRICA

knew how tough this industry was," a despondent Ramaphosa admitted shortly before publicly announcing the end of the strike. "We didn't."

Then in a flash of defiance he added: "We taught them a very expensive lesson. They didn't teach us the lesson they expected to teach us. They didn't break the union."

The strike did teach NUM and its parent organization, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), one bitter lesson. The walkout might have been the biggest wage strike in South African history involving almost half the country's 760,000 mine workers, but it wasn't big enough to force Anglo American and the other five mining corporations to improve their wage offer.

"When you're trying to force something out of the monopolies that run the economy, you can't do it with half the workers in just one sector," a COSATU official said as the strike wound down August 28. And COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo said, "Next time we will have a more coordinated response."

COSATU did not begin debating large-scale solidarity action until the strike's second week. It agreed on a response—a two-day stay-away by 500,000 other COSATU members—only during the third week, shortly before the strike ended.

Mine union head Cyril Ramaphosa: "We thought we knew how tough this industry was. We didn't."



**In the future:** But COSATU promises of a more coordinated response "next time" raises the question of whether there will be a next time. In the wake of the defeat of South Africa's first mass black miners' strike in 1920, it took 26 years to reorganize the mines. And a full generation passed after the 1946 strike before Ramaphosa and NUM's initial staff of six began organizing miners in 1982.

Yet several factors suggest that NUM will not go the way of previous miner groupings. First is the return to work by the strikers. Despite the fact that only about two-thirds of them were NUM members, the return to work since August 30 has proceeded without striker resistance. There has been no wild-cat action that would indicate opposition to the union's decision.

Just two days before that decision, during mass meetings at all of the affected mines, miners voted unanimously to stay out. But Ramaphosa said later that continuing the strike would have led to mass dismissals, badly damaging union infrastructures at the mines. The strikers, he said, recognized this.

"They also recognized that the strike was not an event existing in isolation, but part of a protracted struggle going back decades," he said.

NUM sent back the strikers with its local infrastructures largely in place. And despite post-strike sackings the union still enjoys widespread support, even from non-members.

NUM's ability to sustain the strike for three weeks, when even many in its own ranks doubted the miners' ability to stay out past three days, also appears to have boosted its prestige at the mines. One factor suggesting that NUM will bounce back next year, or more likely in 1989, has been the rapid expansion of the union movement as a whole and the parallel increase in industrial action.

Membership of COSATU's 13 affiliates, just over 400,000 in 1985, had by this June rocketed to 760,000—a daily average increase of more than 500. By year's end COSATU officials predict one million will have signed up.

With more than three months left in the year, strikes in 1987 have cost the South African economy a conservatively estimated 5.5 million working days. Last year's figure was 1.3 million working days, at the time a record. COSATU officials attribute the upsurge in worker militancy at least in part to the mobilizing impact of their federation's Living Wage Campaign. However, they admit that the campaign, launched in March, has been organizationally weak.

The Living Wage Campaign, Naidoo said prophetically earlier in the year, had "the potential to capture the imagination of millions of organized and unorganized workers."

Apparently it has, and the wave of shop-floor militancy—fueled by the climate of South Africa's emergency rule—shows no sign of peaking. By "next time," the union movement will almost certainly be in a stronger position to back the miners and will do so more quickly. Then the result could be different. □

David Niddrie is a South African journalist.  
IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 9-15, 1987 7



By Diana Johnstone

**W**HILE SUSPENSE AND CONFUSION mounted over the big war in the Gulf, a little sideline war was played out in August over a remote stretch of desert between Chad and Libya known as the Aozou strip.

On August 8 Chad seized the Aozou oasis and announced that it had liberated the entire strip—which covers 114,000 square kilometers of ancient ecological disaster—from Libyan invaders. In Chad's distant capital of N'Djamena, President Hissain Habré's government rejoiced that Chad had recovered its national territory and humiliated Libya's Col. Muammar Khadafy.

Then, predictably, on August 28 Libya recaptured the Aozou outpost and announced that it had liberated the strip from Chadian invaders. In distant Tripoli, the news came just in time to brighten celebrations of the 18th anniversary of Khadafy's solution.

This is probably not the end of the story. The exceedingly sparse population of Northern Chad is used to keeping up low-level tribal conflict for long periods. The isolated palm groves of the region make good targets for sudden surprise attacks. Habré's men can take refuge in the desolate mountains around Aozou and strike again some day.

In Paris there is strong suspicion that Habré's American advisers encouraged him to try to recover the Aozou strip in order to drag France into war with Libya. France has vowed to help Chad defend its territorial integrity. The official French position is that Aozou is an integral part of Chad. But both President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Chirac hang back from going to war over it.

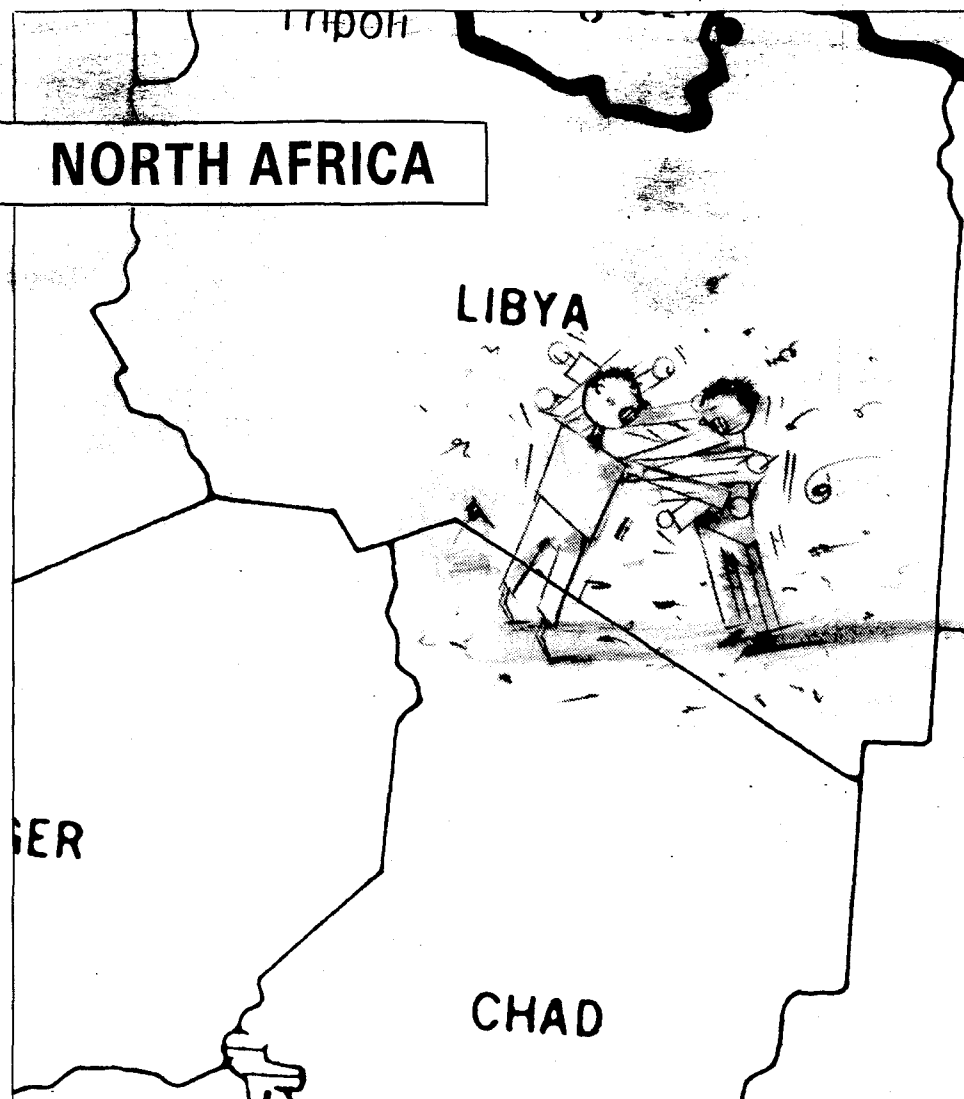
To try to build up French enthusiasm for the reconquest, Chadian spokesmen have been going around describing the Aozou strip as "Chad's Alsace-Lorraine," the border provinces for which French and Germans slaughtered each other in two or three major wars. Habré seems proud of having such a fine *casus belli* and wants to make use of it.

To avoid endless war in and between their artificial nation states grafted by European colonial rule onto complicated tribal groupings, African heads of state have adopted the principle of absolute respect for the boundaries inherited from colonialism. However, this principle is not always crystal clear in practice. It is especially unclear in the case of the Chad-Libyan border, a "theoretical boundary," not corresponding to precise geological or political features and never officially marked on the terrain.

**The history:** Chad's northern boundary claimed by Habré and the French was drawn by British and French diplomats in 1899 when neither the British nor the French had seen the place. The boundary was not of Chad—a country that did not exist until it emerged from French Equatorial Africa in 1960—but of a French "zone of influence" west of the Sudan. This last unexplored and empty region was conceded to France by the British after they took over Egypt and the Sudan. The idea was to settle Anglo-French rivalries in Africa, the better to oppose the up-and-coming Germans.

The artificial boundary was traced by drawing a line from the Tropic of Cancer southeast toward the 24th degree longitude. Early maps differed as to the angle. Eventually, the line was fixed on an east-southeast angle, giving the French a bigger hunk of desert in the northeastern part next to Sudan.

The Ottoman Empire, which actually ruled



## Battle for Aozou strip: much ado about little

what is now Libya, and was then called Tripolitania, protested at the time that the British and the French had no right to set the southern boundary of an Ottoman territory. Thus the 1899 border was drawn without consultation and even over the protests of those most familiar with the territory at the time. But the 1899 London Declaration was ratified by Britain and France and remains the legal basis for the border claimed today by Chad, with French backing.

In 1911 Italy declared war on the Ottoman Empire and set out to conquer Tripolitania, renaming it Libya. Italy always considered that the boundary of its new colony should be much farther to the south than the line drawn in London in 1899.

**Useful vs. strategic:** In April 1915 the secret London treaty bringing Italy into World War II on the allied side promised that if France and Britain enlarged their African empires at Germany's expense (which they eventually did), then Italy could claim compensation by better boundaries between Libya and French Equatorial Africa (as well as in Ethiopia and Somalia). After the war, Italy demanded to extend its Libyan territory all the way to Lake Chad, the fertile southern part of the French territory considered "useful," whereas the empty north was purely "strategic."

In the early '30s, fear of German power again brought together other European rivals in Africa. France and Italy set out to settle their dispute by negotiations. This culminated in the January 1935 Franco-Italian Treaty of Rome that fixed the Libya-Chad border roughly parallel to the 1899 Franco-British line, but more than 100 kilometers to the south. Both the French and the Italian

parliaments quickly and overwhelmingly voted for ratification.

It was the Italians who had second thoughts about the deal. All it gave them was a few palm groves. Tired of "collecting deserts," Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in October 1935. When France joined Britain in voting sanctions against Italy in the League of Nations, Mussolini began to move toward switching alliances.

In November 1936 Mussolini proclaimed the Berlin-Rome axis with Nazi Germany. Allied with Germany, Italian colonialists were no longer interested in the meager concessions of the 1935 Rome Treaty. They thought they could get much more: Suez, Tunis and Djibouti. Ironically, it was the Italian foreign ministry that in 1938 told France it was no longer interested in the Rome Treaty.

Atlases were already showing the 1935 boundary, however. And when, in 1950, a United Nations commission for decolonizing Libya asked the French where the boundary was, French diplomats could not remember and cited a non-existent protocol.

The independence of the United Kingdom of Libya was proclaimed in December 1951. British and American companies and bases replaced Italian colonialism. American oil company prospectors were arrested by French military patrols when they arrived in the Aozou strip in the early '50s bearing maps based on the 1935 Rome Treaty, which showed the Aozou strip as part of Libya.

No oil was found. But France wanted to reassert its control of the Aozou strip. In August 1955 France concluded a friendship treaty with the Kingdom of Libya. The main business of the treaty, from the Libyan point of view, was to get French troops out of the

Fezzan region of southern Libya. The treaty also defined the southern border of Libya as "resulting from international acts in vigor at the time of the constitution of the United Kingdom of Libya, as defined in the accompanying exchange of letters."

The 1935 Treaty of Rome was studiously omitted from the accompanying list of international acts. That killed it for good, in the French view.

But for Col. Muammar Khadafy and the young officers who led the bloodless revolution of Sept. 1, 1969, giving away the Aozou strip was just another sign of the subservience and incompetence of the royal regime they overthrew.

**Libya moves in:** Chad, meanwhile independent but wracked by civil war, paid so little attention to its "Alsace-Lorraine" that officials in N'Djamena, the capital, were unaware exactly when Libya took control of the territory. The Libyan occupation apparently began in January 1973, when seven Toyota military cars drove into Aozou to distribute food and vaccinate the population. Later Libyan identity cards were given out, and by mid-1973 the Aozou strip was under Libyan control.

Shortly before that, Chadian President Francois Tombalbaye had been invited to Tripoli by Khadafy, who promised Chad economic development aid. Tombalbaye was aware of the Libyan occupation of the Aozou strip but never protested. He was killed in a 1975 coup. What agreement about the boundary may have been reached by Khadafy and Tombalbaye is unknown.

The Aozou strip is the very epitome of a territory not worth fighting over. The population, such as it is, is semi-nomadic and is not in the habit of recognizing any borders. In recent years, many have gone to work in Libya, which has more to offer economically. Mineral resources, such as uranium, are said to be there. But the cost of exploiting such resources in a remote territory without infrastructure is far beyond the means of a poor country like Chad and probably not of interest to Libya either at this point. In 14 years of occupation, the Libyans have made no move to mine Aozou uranium.

Finally, the Aozou strip is said to be "strategic," meaning it is next to something less useless than itself. Libya has built a big air base that it calls Aozou on the northern edge of the strip.

Khadafy's interest in the Aozou strip is in fact what gives it value. By going after it, Habré could harass Khadafy and please his American backers. After the August 8 capture of Aozou by Chadian troops, the Reagan administration said it backed Chad's claim to the territory.

While N'Djamena issued warlike threats of vengeance against Libya, Khadafy spoke mildly of Aozou at the end of his speech in Tripoli celebrating the 18th anniversary of the revolution. Khadafy said he was "not happy to combat Chad" and did so only against his will. It was the U.S. and France, he said, who had incited Habré to organize provocations against Libya. He called on Habré to end this "dangerous game" and proposed a non-aggression pact between their two countries.

Khadafy also criticized the Arab Gulf states for inviting the U.S. into the Gulf as well as the Soviet Union for letting it happen. Khadafy said Libyans would do everything to try to end the Gulf war by explaining to their Iranian friends that the "conflict no longer makes sense." Libya would not betray the Iranian revolution, he said, but neither would it help Iran to harm Iraq. □



By James B. Goodno

MANILA

**P**RESIDENT CORAZON AQUINO'S GOVERNMENT survived last month's bloody coup attempt, but the situation here remains unstable. Military officers loyal to Aquino and some government officials believe the renegade officers still pose a serious threat.

"The situation is fluid and critical," Congressman Bonifacio Gillego told *In These Times* last week. Gillego is a former military intelligence officer and a relative of the most prominent leader of the mutiny, Col. Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan. "Gringo's not likely to give up. He's driven by a perverted idealism."

Like others, Gillego is concerned about the extent of support for Honasan, described as the "Filipino Oliver North," and his comrades among the 250,000 members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. More than 1,000 rebel soldiers surrendered or were captured, but Honasan and at least six other leaders escaped with as many as 1,000 followers. Defense Secretary Rafael Ilete said the rebels might regroup and grow to as many as 2,000 soldiers. More significantly, no one knows how wide support for the rebel cause is among officers who didn't join the mutiny.

Leaders of the mutiny, which claimed at least 53 lives, were "heroes" of the uprising that brought Aquino to power. They were members and leaders of the Reform Armed Forces Movement (RAM) and followers of then-minister of national defense, now opposition Sen. Juan Ponce Enrile (see accompanying story). Honasan was Enrile's security chief. Was Enrile involved in the coup attempt? That's a key question being asked here.

Though anti-Marcos, the "RAM-boys," as they came to be known, were from the start militaristic anti-communists. They were never comfortable with the liberal tendencies in the Aquino government.

Prior to the August 28 mutiny Honasan and his colleagues were connected to sev-



Col. Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan: The "Filipino Oliver North" may not give up.

## Aquino's government is not free from threat of a coup

eral plots to change or overthrow the Aquino government. They never went so far before as to openly join a revolt. Suspicion was strong enough, however, to lead to Enrile's dismissal and the reassignment of his aides following the discovery of one such plot late last year. Another mutiny attempt led Gen. Fidel Ramos, the armed forces chief of staff, to order the break-up of RAM and similar armed forces groups earlier this year.

**New assignments, new recruits:** These moves did not hurt RAM's Honasan faction. He and others continued organizing despite Ramos' sanctions, and Honasan and others took advantage of their new posts. He be-

came training officer of special forces recruits at a camp north of Manila. The recruits under his command formed part of the rebel fighting force last month. Another former Enrile aide, Col. Eduardo Kapunan, was reassigned to the Philippine Military Academy. The military is now investigating the role played by academy officers and cadets in the revolt.

Much of the disenchantment among rank-and-file soldiers can be traced to low pay and poor benefits. Military leaders are pushing for a 60 percent increase in base pay. This would require massive restructuring of the nation's proposed budget, but given the

life does not operate along the formal lines of Western-style democracy, despite structures created by the new Philippine constitution. Political decisions are dominated by a landlord elite, who wield power by offering favors to those with less influence. Filipinos feel compelled to repay such "debts of gratitude."

Not only does Enrile command political life in Cagayan, but he also controls the powerful lumber, coconut and telecommunications monopolies—three of the most lucrative businesses in the country. By many accounts, Enrile is currently the richest Filipino in the country.

His power is such that his personal investments have not been scrutinized by Aquino's Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG), which has sequestered many Marcos cronies.

He has, however, held centerstage in two important tussles for economic power since Corazon Aquino took over. The two confrontations, one in a vital communications firm and the other in a large Philippine bank, demonstrate both Enrile's clout and his style.

One corporation examined by the PCGG was a communications monopoly engineered by Enrile. The firm, Philcomsat, owns the only satellite link for beaming telephone messages in or out of the country. Every satellite transmission circuits

current situation President Aquino and other government leaders have indicated that they might support such a huge wage increase. Some political leaders, however, warn that the motives of military dissidents are much more devious. Sen. Aquilino Pimentel traces the mutiny to the rebels' belief in a "national security doctrine." This belief may be shared by officers loyal to the government.

"The national security doctrine fosters the absolute primacy of military considerations over politics and is aimed at pervading society with a warlike spirit," Pimentel said during a recent Senate speech. "It is a doctrine that holds national security as the highest goal of the country and postulates a mentality of perpetual readiness for warfare."

**Highest national interest:** The doctrine Pimentel outlined bears striking resemblance to recommendations made by Gen. Ramos in the mutiny's wake. While asking for higher pay and allowances for soldiers, Ramos also called for decisive action against "armed threat groups."

"The stability of the nation and its capability to defend and secure itself is our highest national interest and must be addressed without delay," said the West Point-trained general. "All other issues must give way."

Other segments of society aren't willing to let the military set the agenda for the future. The urgency of dealing with other issues was made clear by other developments late last month. The most dramatic was the one-day general transport and labor strike that paralyzed public transportation here and in other major cities. In general, restiveness over economic issues is increasing. Militant workers are demanding higher pay, while employers and investors favor tighter controls on labor.

This class conflict isn't limited to the cities. Rep. Gillego, who chairs the House committee on agrarian reform, says landowners in the Philippines Congress will probably succeed in blocking meaningful land reform. Already, Ramos calls the rural-based Communist Party and its New People's Army "the most potent enemy." □

## Close ties to coup's leader raise questions about Enrile

By Ken Meter

**C**OL. GREGORIO HONASAN, LEADER OF THE armed rebellion quashed by the Philippine military late last month, was Juan Ponce Enrile's key aide when he served as defense minister. Honasan's role in the coup attempt has led to widespread speculation that Enrile himself was behind it. Although no evidence links Enrile directly, he has a history of leveraging political influence behind the scenes.

Honasan is one of Enrile's most aggressive proteges. Leader of the only military assault during the February 1986 "snap revolt" that deposed Ferdinand Marcos, Honasan quickly surfaced both as a popular hero and as Enrile's personal bodyguard and chief of security. President Corazon Aquino fired Enrile last November when he warned at a cabinet meeting that Honasan was considering a coup attempt.

Enrile denies any involvement in the four threatened coups of the past 14 months. Still, as a man avowing presidential ambitions and the sole opposition candidate visible enough

to win one of 24 seats in the newly elected Senate, Enrile stands to gain if his allies depose Aquino.

Just days before Enrile was fired the Philippine customs director reported that a shipment of arms had arrived from Israel without

### THE PHILIPPINES

proper documentation. The payload of 200 Uzi machine guns, 12,000 rounds of ammunition, nightscopes, uniforms and bullet-proof vests was signed for by both Enrile and Honasan. Honasan called the weapons "an official issue from the Israeli government," but is rumored to have whisked the weapons from the plane without clearing customs.

Further indications of a possible Enrile role in the coup came from his home province of Cagayan, on the northern tip of the Philippine island of Luzon. Cagayan's military contingent was one of only two army regiments to mobilize in support of the rebels in Manila last month. Enrile controls Cagayan's political machine.

**Debts of gratitude:** Philippine political

through Philcomsat's network.

Philcomsat was sequestered in March 1986, barely three weeks after Aquino took office, when the PCGG established that the corporation had clear ties to Roberto Benedicto, a wealthy sugar planter and one of Marcos' two most powerful cronies. Benedicto, Marcos' son, and two key Benedicto partners were important stockholders. True ownership had been obscured by the fact that 99 percent of the corporation's stock was held by another communications firm, the Philippines Overseas Telephone Corporation (POTC). POTC, in turn, was owned by Benedicto, two of Marcos' holding companies, and an investment firm owned by Enrile and his wife.

Enrile's 897 shares made him Philcomsat's sixth-largest shareholder, with a 13 percent interest valued at \$308,000 in 1986. Enrile claims he was awarded those shares in return for legal work he performed in drafting the corporate charter in 1966, while he served as finance undersecretary under Marcos. POTC, Enrile says, "was my bread and butter before I joined the government."

Enrile's charter gave the government controlling shares in Philcomsat in exchange for only a \$2,750 investment. Philcomsat then contracted with its premier stockholder, POTC, to operate its only asset, the satellite facility. POTC leveraged an initial \$250,000

*Continued on following page*

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Continued from preceding page

investment (45 percent of the shares) into \$2.6 million (99 percent of the shares), according to PCGG.

Two days before the commission moved to sequester Philcomsat, the corporation board met secretly, and Enrile emerged as chairman. That day the corporation declared cash and stock dividends totalling \$20 million—which were received by several Marcos cronies as well as Enrile's investment firm. In May another \$13 million of dividends were paid.

**Coconut connection:** The second major incident in which Enrile flexed his economic muscles during the Aquino administration was a confrontation at the largest bank in the Philippines (if ranked by assets), the United Coconut Planters Bank (UCPB). UCPB is also Enrile's creation. He served as board chairman from 1975 to 1986. The bank was founded with funds collected from coconut

growers on each 100 kilograms of copra (dried coconut) they sold.

In 10 years of operation this "Cocofund" amassed at least \$500 million from 1.3 million coconut planters. At the time, coconut workers were lucky to earn \$1 per day. This government fund was supposedly controlled by coconut planters. But actually a select few held the reins, centered on the other major Marcos crony, Eduardo Cojuangco, who is Aquino's cousin.

Through the fund Cojuangco and Enrile quickly came to dominate the industry, though neither one has a traditional family foothold in coconut. The Cocofund—actually two separate funds—was deposited in a no-interest account at Enrile's bank. It financed a variety of businesses and programs that gave Enrile and Cojuangco total control over the industry. Although this monopoly was officially dismantled in 1985, the Philippines Coconut Authority reported the follow-

ing year that the monopoly still functions intact.

At the June 30, 1986, stockholders meeting, the PCGG took over the bank, maneuvering Enrile out of the chairmanship. The next day three key Enrile allies withdrew funds from the coconut planters' federation, placing the money in personal accounts. The following week Marcos' running-mate Arturo Tolentino declared himself president of the Philippines at the Manila Hotel.

**More links:** Enrile also has close links with political and military appointees in a variety of positions, including:

- five directors on the new (Aquino) board of United Coconut Planters Bank;
- four generals in key staff positions in the Philippine Coconut Authority;
- the head of Marcos' political party;
- the director of the National Telecommunications Commission and the director of the Bureau of Telecommunications; and

• civil service employees in the Ministries of Defense, Justice, Customs and Finance, where Enrile formerly held top administrative posts.

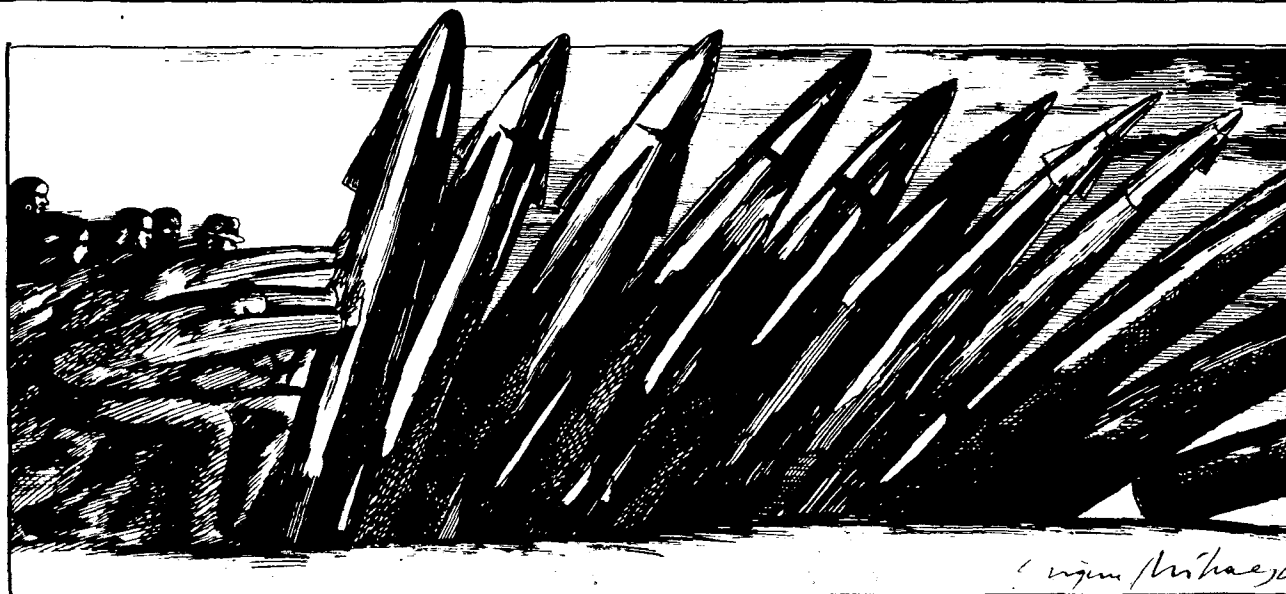
Enrile also has long-standing ties to Retired U.S. Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub, key director in contra supply operations, who visited the Philippines for an extended period at the end of 1986. Enrile met twice with Singlaub during his stay in the Philippines. Singlaub's visit coincided with the emergence of armed right-wing vigilante groups in several rural areas in which the New People's Army (NPA) had been strong (see story page 11).

According to the San Francisco *Examiner*, Singlaub used Enrile's introduction to gain a meeting with officers associated with the RAM (Reform Armed Forces Movement), of which Col. Honasan is a key leader. One senior military official told the newspaper Singlaub was engaged in "arms trading" and was "offering to sell equipment useful in counterinsurgency operations." The newspaper also reported that Singlaub had also met with rebel soldiers under Col. Reynaldo Cabauatan, leader of January's coup attempt.

Still other sources claim that Enrile has more directly served U.S. policy interests. An unnamed source in Aquino's office was quoted by Hawaii's Center for Philippine Studies as saying in August 1986, "The U.S. is no longer pressuring us directly on negotiations [with the NPA]. They only do it through Ramos and Enrile."

The U.S. State Department denies any dealings with Enrile. □

**Ken Meter** is a freelance journalist based in Minneapolis who traveled to the Philippines last year to cover the February revolt and land reform under Aquino.



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By James B. Goodno

DAVAO CITY, MINDANAO, PHILIPPINES

**R**EVOLUTION IS NO LONGER THE ATTRACTION luring journalists, government officials and military planners to this sprawling southern city of about one million once known as the laboratory of the radical left.

Counterrevolution is the new attraction. Local military men, civilian vigilantes and ambitious politicians took advantage of a crisis in the regional revolutionary movement to seize momentum from the left. And now they are trying to build a model of counterinsurgency effectiveness by using civilians in the war against the left.

"Primarily, the approach is to fight the insurgents by getting the people themselves to fight the insurgents," says Antonio Arrellano, a local human rights lawyer and a leader of the Party of the People (PnB), a legal left-wing party. This tactic offers "better propaganda mileage and less possibility of attack against military abuses. It would appear as if the people rose up against the insurgents themselves."

Supporters of Alsa Masa, the local military-backed vigilante force, say the people did just that. Alsa Masa represents a popular revolt against communism and the excesses of the radical and revolutionary movements.

"Alsa Masa originated when a group of seven rebels decided to depart from the CPP-NPA [Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army] organization," says Lt. Col. Franco Calida, the so-called godfather of Alsa Masa. Calida, who keeps an array of small arms and explosives behind his desk along with portraits of President Corazon Aquino, Armed Forces Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel Ramos and Sylvester Stallone, admits the vigilante organization did not grow significantly until he became metropolitan district constabulary commander last year and offered it his full support.

"On July 18, merely four days after my assumption, [members of Alsa Masa] came here, about 22 of them, to surrender formally, bringing with them their firearms," Calida says. "I told them, 'Because you are an avid anti-communist, you would like to fight the dissidents, the NPAs who terrorize the city, I am going to support you.'"

**Join or die:** Aside from the military, Alsa Masa is supported by many local politicians as well as segments of the business community and part of the city's large impoverished slum-dwelling population. Yet Calida's claim that Alsa Masa is a voluntary organization is debatable. Alsa Masa's critics say it grew through intimidation, and this contention is backed by several published reports. For example, the national Catholic newsweekly *Veritas* recently cited a Davao resident who claimed he and his neighbors joined Alsa Masa after they were warned that the homes of those refusing to join would be "shot up."

Calida claims Alsa Masa is not armed, but the assertion is simply not true. Even Alsa Masa's former spokesman, the bombastic pistol-packing radio announcer Juan "Jun" Pala, talks openly of "Alsa Masa's armed men." To give these "armed men" legal standing, Calida simply signs them up as members of the para-military Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF).

One of Calida's claims is undebatable, however: Alsa Masa is effective. Members of the left-wing organizations admit they are no longer able to work in impoverished communities they once influenced or controlled. And members of the armed underground no longer operate in the inner city.



Alsa Masa members: Critics fear such vigilante groups will become death squads.

## Rightist vigilante gangs are eroding left's base

In slum communities like Agdao—a vast coastal shantytown once known as a left stronghold—nightly patrols of Alsa Masa armed men keep watch for suspected leftists, communists and suspicious outsiders. All

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strangers are suspect, even during the daytime.

Alsa Masa makes it difficult—if not impossible—for leftists to work and organize in communities like Agdao today, but the vigilante group wasn't responsible for eroding the left's power here. That erosion can be traced to a crisis on the left in late 1985, when the movement discovered that its Mindanao regional organization was infiltrated throughout by military agents called Deep Penetration Agents, also known as "DPAs" or "zombies." This discovery sparked a violent purge known within the left as the "cleansing."

**The dirt on the "cleansing":** Innocent people and dedicated activists were interrogated and punished. Convicted DPAs, some perhaps innocent, were killed. Meanwhile, community residents—the movement's mass base—saw all this happening. And since the movement wasn't always able to explain its actions, support waned.

The revolutionary movement in Davao was always violent. Through most of its history, however, the people who supported the movement saw the bloodshed as justifiable. Military men, police officers, corrupt or abusive local officials, criminals and informers were the usual targets of liquidation teams. Over time, however, left supporters grew weary of the violence.

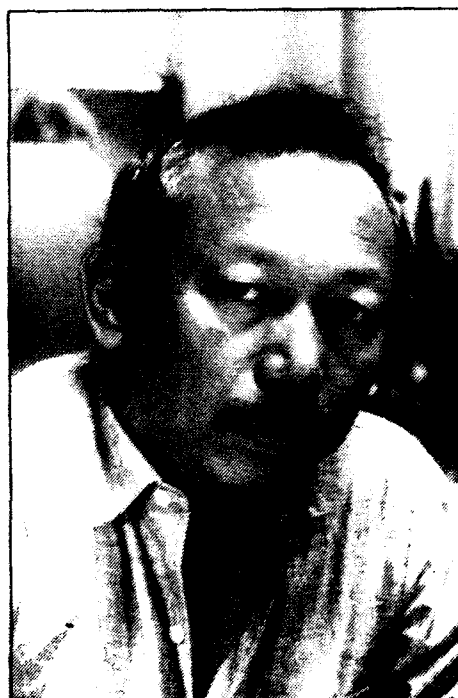
In 1985 there were more than 800 murders here. At the bloody peak there were six to eight a day, and none have been solved. The military blamed the New People's Army for all the killings. The NPA claimed some, but says others were the handiwork of the military or criminal elements. Some leftists now even question whether some of the killings carried out by or in the name of the NPA were the work of either DPAs or NPA dissidents.

Though the level of violence fell off

dramatically after the armed struggle of the revolutionary left moved elsewhere, fear remains. Some people fear the return of the left, while others fear Alsa Masa will "get out of hand." Still others believe that Alsa Masa is already out of control. Jun Pala's twice-daily pro-Alsa Masa broadcasts often were vulgar tirades against real and suspected leftists. Activists, priests, nuns, businessmen and even other broadcasters were among his favored targets.

**1984 in 1987:** There are other reasons for fear. Alsa Masa members are accused of shooting demonstrators, a student and suspected leftists. Community residents are forced to "surrender" to authorities though they've committed no crimes. Others are intimidated. They find crosses painted on their homes along with the word "surrender" or warnings.

Perhaps most insidious, however, is the use of informers. Acting Mayor Zafiro Respicio, a social democrat who originally sought an alliance with the left but who now supports Alsa Masa, says people are asked to monitor their neighbors and others in the community. He says Davao residents, for



Lt. Col. Franco Calida, the "godfather" of Alsa Masa.

example, are asked to tell authorities about teachers suspected of maintaining left-wing connections.

Alsa Masa, because of its blatant armed nature and the initial bluster of its propagandists, drew early criticism from the human-rights lobby and its allies in the ruling coalition. Because of this, many Manila residents developed an aversion to Alsa Masa—at least in name—but not necessarily the concept of using civilians to combat the left. The military and the influential right wing of the ruling alliance continue to advocate the use of vigilantes.

The late local Governments Secretary Jaime Ferrer, a man who worked with the CIA in developing civilian anti-communist programs in the '50s, was the most vocal and prominent advocate of what he called "unarmed vigilantes." He named the United People for Peace (Nakasaka) in neighboring Davao Del Sur as a "successful" unarmed vigilante group. Backers of Alsa Masa and Nakasaka agree that the two organizations are actually quite similar.

"The difference between Alsa Masa and Nakasaka is in name only," says broadcaster Pala. He says that although Nakasaka backers claim its members are not armed, "most of them are armed, but it is hidden." Pala claims Nakasaka members use machetes and homemade weapons, while "we have more high-powered firearms.... But the concept is the same—using people's power against communism."

Critics maintain Alsa Masa, Nakasaka and the similar vigilante organizations springing up elsewhere in the Philippines are already—or may become—death squads. Even some of the vigilantes' local backers worry that they could turn sour.

Already, critics say, the vigilantes are closing the "democratic space" opened by the anti-Marcos revolt and Aquino's rise to power. They are limiting civil rights and chilling political discussion. PnB's Arrellano says that Alsa Masa violates human rights by limiting the freedom of association and the freedom of movement of activists and city residents. Despite this, however, and despite Alsa Masa's initial success at keeping left-wing organizations out of the poor communities, Arrellano believes the vigilantes will not succeed in squelching dissent.

Arrellano and his colleagues in the Party of the People are at the forefront of the left's campaign to stage a comeback here. PnB ran candidates in the recent local congressional races. Although they fared poorly, they were able to campaign in districts previously off-limits to left-wing mass organizations. Arrellano and other PnB leaders and activists hope their reasoned campaign will rebuild the image of the legal left and attract new supporters to their movement.

**Laboratory for the left:** Davao City remains a laboratory. The young Marxists, would-be Sandinistas and radical idealists are no longer the leading social scientists. That role is now held by the militarists, vigilantes and their allies. The left, however, wants to stage a comeback. It continues to campaign and to present an alternative vision, but under present circumstances it's difficult for radicals and revolutionaries to reach the public. Failures and shortcomings of the government and the militarists will open the door to the left. The question that remains is whether the left has learned from the successes and failures of its previous experiments here. □

James B. Goodno is *In These Times'* correspondent in the Philippines.

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# The Framers of the Constitution

By Alfred F. Young

**O**N JUNE 18, 1787, ABOUT THREE WEEKS into the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, Alexander Hamilton delivered a six-hour address that was easily the longest and most conservative the Convention would hear. Gouverneur Morris, a delegate from Pennsylvania, thought it was "the most able and impressive he had ever heard."

Beginning with the premise that "all communities divide themselves into the few and the many," "the wealthy well born" and "the people," Hamilton added the corollary that the "people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right." Moving through history, the delegate from New York developed his ideal for a national government that would protect the few from "the imprudence of democracy" and guarantee "stability and permanence": a president and senate indirectly elected for life ("to serve during good behavior") to balance a house directly elected by a popular vote every three years. This "elective monarch" would have an absolute veto over laws passed by Congress. And the national government would appoint the governors of the states, who in turn would have the power to veto any laws by the state legislatures.

If others quickly saw a resemblance in all of this to the King, House of Lords and House of Commons of Great Britain, with the states reduced to colonies ruled by royal governors, they were not mistaken. The British constitution, in Hamilton's view, remained "the best model the world has ever produced."

Three days later a delegate reported that Hamilton's proposals "had been praised by everybody," but "he has been supported by none." Acknowledging that his plan "went beyond the ideas of most members," Hamilton said he had brought it forward not "as a thing attainable by us, but as a model which we ought to approach as near as possible." When he signed the Constitution the framers finally agreed to on September 17, 1787, Hamilton could accurately say "no plan was more remote from his own."

Why did the framers reject a plan so many admired? To ask this question is to go down a dark path into the heart of the Constitution few of its celebrants care to take. We have heard so much in our elementary and high school civics books about the "great compro-

mises" within the Convention—between the large states and the small states, between the slaveholders and non-slaveholders, between North and South—that we have missed the much larger accommodation that was taking place between the delegates as a whole at the convention and what they called "the people out of doors."

The convention was unmistakably an elite body. The official exhibit for the bicentennial, "Miracle at Philadelphia," opens appropriately enough with a large oil portrait of Robert Morris, a delegate from Philadelphia, one of the richest merchants in America, and points out elsewhere that 11 out of 55 delegates were business associates of Morris'. The 55 were weighted with merchants, slaveholding planters and "monied men" who loaned money at interest. Among them were numerous lawyers and college graduates in a country where most men and only a few women had the rudiments of a formal education. They were far from a cross section of the four million or so Americans of that day, most of whom were farmers or artisans, fishermen or seamen, indentured servants or laborers, half of whom were women and about 600,000 of whom were African-American slaves.

**The first accommodation:** Why did this elite reject Hamilton's plan that many of them praised? James Madison, the Constitution's chief architect, had the nub of the matter. The Constitution was "intended for the ages." To last it had to conform to the "genius" of the American people. "Genius" was a word 18th-century political thinkers used to mean spirit; we might say character or underlying values.

James Wilson, second only to Madison in his influence at Philadelphia, elaborated on the idea. "The British government cannot be our model. We have no materials for a similar one. Our manners, our law, the abolition of entail and primogeniture," which made for a more equal distribution of property among sons, "the whole genius of the people, are opposed to it."

This was long-range political philosophy. There was a short-range political problem that moved other realistic delegates in the same direction. Called together to revise the old Articles of Confederation, the delegates instead decided to scrap it and frame an entirely new constitution. It would have to be submitted to the people for ratification, most likely to con-

ventions elected especially for the purpose. Repeatedly, conservatives recoiled from extreme proposals for which they knew they could not win popular support.

In response to a proposal to extend the federal judiciary into the states, Pierce Butler, a South Carolina planter, argued, "the people will not bear such innovations. The states will revolt at such encroachments." His assumption was "we must follow the example of Solon, who gave the Athenians not the best government he could devise but the best they would receive."

The suffrage debate epitomized this line of thinking. Gouverneur Morris, Hamilton's admirer, proposed that the national government limit voting for the House to men who owned a freehold, i.e. a substantial farm, or its equivalent. "Give the vote to people who have no property and they will sell them to the rich who will be able to buy them," he said with some prescience.

George Mason, author of Virginia's Bill of Rights, was aghast. "Eight or nine states have extended the right of suffrage beyond the freeholders. What will people there say if they should be disfranchised?"

Benjamin Franklin, the patriarch, speaking for one of the few times in the convention, paid tribute to "the lower class of freemen"

who should not be disfranchised. James Wilson explained, "it would be very hard and disagreeable for the same person" who could vote for representatives for the state legislatures "to be excluded from a vote for this in the national legislature." Nathaniel Gorham, a Boston merchant, returned to the guiding principle: "the people will never allow" existing rights to suffrage to be abridged. "We must consult their rooted prejudices if we expect their concurrence in our propositions."

The result? Morris' proposal was defeated and the convention decided that whoever each state allowed to vote for its own assembly could



We have heard so much in our books about the "great con- Convention that we have not that was taking place between Convention and what they



# and the "Genius" of the People



vote for the House. It was a compromise that left the door open and in a matter of decades allowed states to introduce universal white male suffrage.

Ghosts of years past: Clearly there was a process of accommodation at work here. The popular movements of the revolutionary era were a presence at the Philadelphia Convention even if they were not present. The delegates, one might say, were haunted by ghosts, symbols of the broadly based movements elites had confronted in the making of the Revolution from 1765 to 1775, in waging the war from

elementary and high school civics promises" within the Philadelphia the much larger accommodation the delegates as a whole at the ed "the people out of doors."

1775 to 1781 and in the years since 1781 within their own states.

The first was the ghost of Thomas Paine, the most influential radical democrat of the revolutionary era. In 1776 Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* (which sold at least 150,000 copies), in arguing for independence, rejected not only King George III but the principle of monarchy and the so-called checks and balances of the unwritten English constitution. In its place he offered a vision of a democratic government in which a single legislature would be supreme, the executive minimal, and representatives would be elected from small districts by a broad electorate for short terms so they could "return and mix again with the voters." John Adams considered *Common Sense* too "democratical," without even an attempt at "mixed government" that would balance "democracy" with "aristocracy."

The second ghost was that of Abraham Yates, a member of the state senate of New York typical of the new men who had risen to power in the 1780s in the state legislatures. We have forgotten him; Hamilton, who was very conscious of him, called him "an old Booby." He had begun as a shoemaker and was a self-taught lawyer and a warm foe of the landlord aristocracy of the Hudson Valley which Hamilton had married into.

As James Madison identified the "vices of the political system of the United States" in a memorandum in 1787, the Abraham Yateses were the number-one problem. The state legislatures had "an itch for paper money" laws, laws that prevented foreclosure on farm mortgages, and tax laws that soaked the rich. As Madison saw it, this meant that "debtors defrauded their creditors" and "the landed interest has borne hard on the mercantile interest." This, too, is what Hamilton had in mind when he spoke of the "depredations which the democratic spirit is apt to make on property" and what others meant by the "excess of democracy" in the states.

The third ghost was a very fresh one—Daniel Shays. In 1786 Shays, a captain in the Revolution, led a rebellion of debtor farmers in western Massachusetts which the state quelled with its own somewhat unreliable militia. There were "combustibles in every state," as George Washington put it, raising the spectre of "Shaysism." This Madison enumerated among the "vices" of the system as "a want of guaranty to the states against internal violence." Worse still, Shaysites in many states were turning to the political system to elect their own kind. If they succeeded they would produce legal Shaysism, a danger for which the elites had no remedy.

A fourth ghost we can name the ghost of Thomas Peters, although he had a thousand other names. In 1775 Peters, a Virginia slave, responded to a plea by the British to fight in their army and win their freedom. He served in an "Ethiopian Regiment," some of whose members bore the emblem "Liberty to Slaves" on their uniforms. After the war the British transported Peters and several thousand escaped slaves to Nova Scotia from whence Peters eventually led a group to return to Africa and the colony of Sierra Leone, a long odyssey to freedom. Eighteenth-century slaveholders, with no illusions about happy or contented slaves, were haunted by the spectre of slaves in arms.

Elite divisions: During the revolutionary era elites divided in response to these varied threats from below. One group, out of fear of "the mob" and then "the rabble in arms," embraced the British and became active Loyalists. After the war most of them went into exile. Another group who became patriots never lost

their obsession with coercing popular movements.

"The mob begins to think and reason," Gouverneur Morris observed in 1774. "Poor reptiles, they bask in the sunshine and ere long they will bite." A snake had to be scotched. Others thought of the people as a horse that had to be whipped. This was coercion.

Far more important, however, were those patriot leaders who adopted a strategy of "Swimming with a stream which it is impossible to stem." This was the metaphor of Robert R. Livingston Jr., like Morris, a gentleman with a large tenanted estate in New York. Men of his class had to learn to "yield to the torrent if they hoped to direct its course."

Livingston and his group were able to shape New York's constitution, which some called a perfect blend of "aristocracy" and "democracy." John Hancock, the richest merchant in New England, had mastered this kind of politics and emerged as the most popular politician in Massachusetts. In Maryland Charles Carroll, a wealthy planter, instructed his anxious father about the need to "submit to partial losses" because "no great revolution can happen in a state without revolutions or mutations of private property. If we can save a third of our personal estate and all of our lands and Negroes, I shall think ourselves well off."

The major leaders at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 were heirs to both traditions: coercion and accommodation—Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris to the former, James Madison and James Wilson much more to the latter.

They all agreed on coercion to slay the ghosts of Daniel Shays and Thomas Peters. The Constitution gave the national government the power to "suppress insurrections" and protect the states from "domestic violence." There would be a national army under the command of the president, and authority to nationalize the state militias and suspend the right of habeas corpus in "cases of rebellion or invasion." In 1794 Hamilton, as secretary of the treasury, would exercise such powers fully (and needlessly) to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania.

Southern slaveholders correctly interpreted the same powers as available to shackle the ghost of Thomas Peters. As it turned out, Virginia would not need a federal army to deal with Gabriel Prosser's insurrection in 1800 or

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Nat Turner's rebellion in 1830, but a federal army would capture John Brown after his raid at Harpers Ferry in 1859.

Three solutions: But how to deal with the ghosts of Thomas Paine and Abraham Yates? Here Madison and Wilson blended coercion with accommodation. They had three solutions to the threat of democratic majorities in the states.

Their first was clearly coercive. Like Hamilton, Madison wanted some kind of national veto over the state legislatures. He got several very specific curbs on the states written into fundamental law: no state could "emit" paper money or pass "laws impairing the obligation of contracts." Wilson was so overjoyed with these two clauses that he argued that if they alone "were inserted in the new Constitution I think they would be worth our adoption."

But Madison considered the overall mechanism adopted to curb the states "short of the mark." The Constitution, laws and treaties were the "supreme law of the land" and ultimately the federal courts could declare state laws unconstitutional. But this, Madison lamented, would only catch "mischief" after the fact. Thus they had clipped the wings of Abraham Yates but he could still fly.

The second solution to the problem of the states was decidedly democratic. They wanted to do an end-run around the state legislatures. The Articles of Confederation, said Madison, rested on "the pillars" of the state legislatures who elected delegates to Congress. The "great fabric to be raised would be more stable and durable if it should rest on the solid grounds

of the people themselves"; hence, there would be popular elections to the House.

Wilson altered only the metaphor. He was for "raising the federal pyramid to a considerable altitude and for that reason wanted to give it as broad a base as possible." They would slay the ghost of Abraham Yates with the ghost of Thomas Paine.

This was risky business. They would reduce the risk by keeping the House of Representatives small. Under a ratio of one representative for every 30,000 people, the first house would have only 65 members; in 1776 Thomas Paine had suggested 390. But still, the House would be elected every two years and with each state allowed to determine its own qualifications for voting there was no telling who might end up in Congress.

There was also a risk in Madison's third solution to the problem of protecting propertied interests from democratic majorities: "extending the sphere" of government. Prevailing wisdom held that a republic could only succeed in a small geographic area; to rule an "extensive" country, some kind of despotism was considered inevitable.

Madison turned this idea on its head in his since famous *Federalist* essay No. 10. In a small republic, he argued, it was relatively easy for a majority to gang up on a particular "interest." "Extend the sphere," he wrote, and "you take in a greater variety of parties and interests." Then it would be more difficult for a majority "to discover their own strength and to act in unison with each other."

This was a prescription for a non-colonial empire that would expand across the continent,

taking in new states as it dispossessed the Indians. The risk was there was no telling how far the "democratic" or "levelling" spirit might go in such likely would-be states as frontier Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee.

Democratic divisions: In the spectrum of state constitutions adopted in the Revolutionary era, the federal Constitution of 1787 was, like New York's, somewhere between "aristocracy" and "democracy." It therefore should not surprise us—although it has eluded many modern critics of the Constitution—that in the contest over ratification in 1787-88, the democratic-minded were divided.

Among agrarian democrats there was a gut feeling that the Constitution was the work of an old class enemy. "These lawyers and men of learning and monied men," argued Amos Singleary, a working farmer at the Massachusetts ratifying convention, "expect to be managers of this Constitution and get all the power and all the money into their own hands and then they will swallow up all of us little little folks...just as the whale swallowed up Jonah."

Democratic leaders like Melancton Smith of New York focused on the small size of the proposed House. Arguing from Paine's premise that the members of the legislature should "resemble those they represent," Smith feared that "a substantial yeomen of sense and discernment will hardly ever be chosen" and the government "will fall into the hands of the few and the great."

Urban democrats, on the other hand, including a majority of the mechanics and tradesmen of the major cities who in the Revolution had been a bulwark of Paineite radicalism, were generally enthusiastic about the Constitution. They were impelled by their urgent stake in a

Democrats who were skeptical found it easier to come over because of the Constitution's redeeming features. Thomas Paine, off in Paris, considered the Constitution "a copy, though not quite as base as the original, of the form of the British government." He had always opposed a single executive and he objected to "the long duration of the Senate." But he was so convinced of "the absolute necessity" of a stronger federal government that "I would have voted for it myself had I been in America or even for a worse, rather than have none." It was crucial to Paine that there was an amending process, the means of "remedying its defects by the same appeal to the people by which it was to be established."

The second accommodation: In drafting the Constitution in 1787 the framers, self-styled Federalists, made their first accommodation with the "genius" of the people. In campaigning for ratification in 1788 they made their second. At the outset, the conventions in the key states—Massachusetts, New York and Virginia—had either an anti-Federalist majority or were closely divided. To swing over a small group of "antis" in each state, Federalists had to promise that they would consider amendments. This was enough to secure ratification by narrow margins in Massachusetts, 187 to 168; in New York, 30 to 27; and in Virginia, 89 to 79.

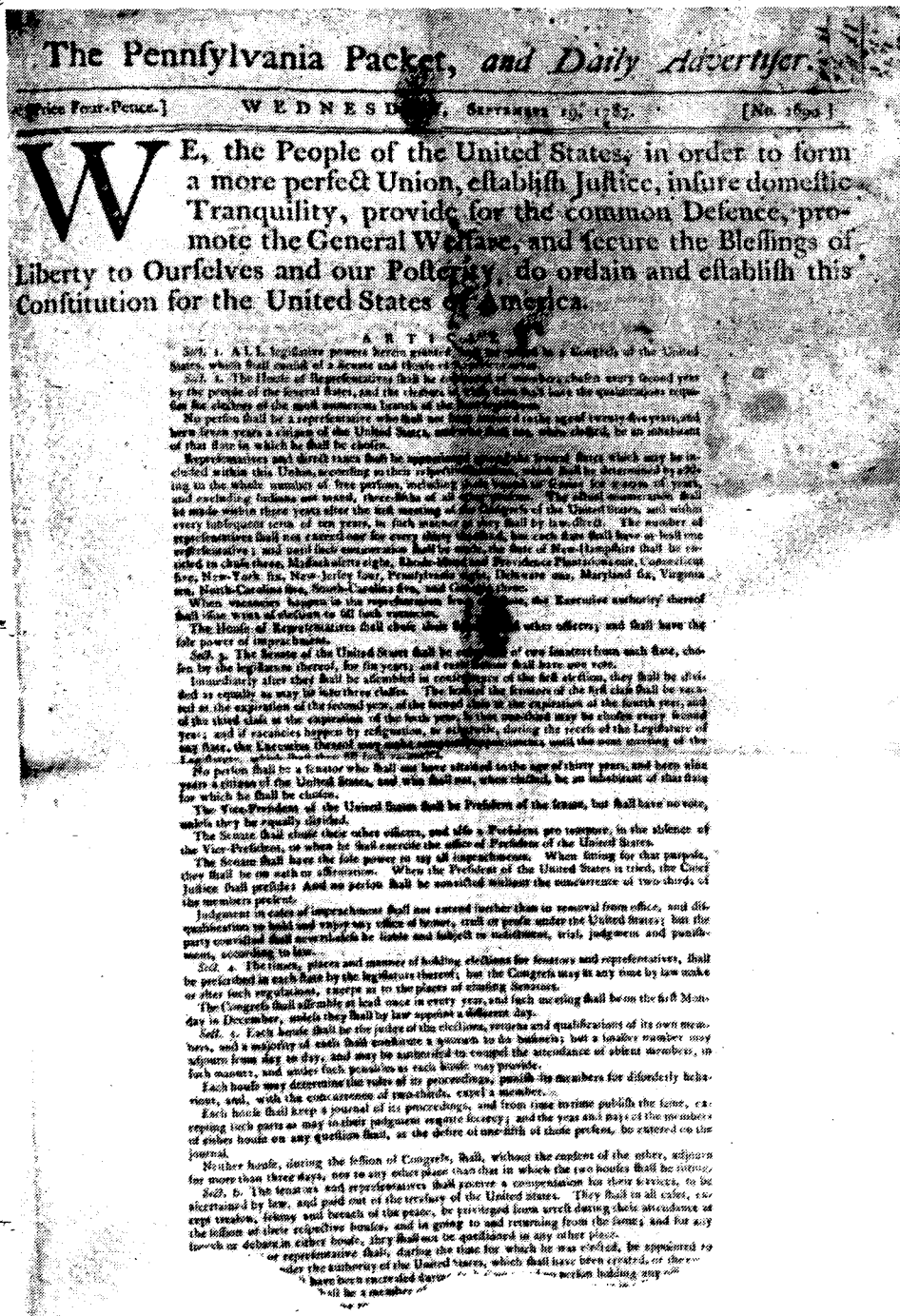
What the anti-Federalists wanted were dozens of changes in the structure of the government that would cut back national power over the states, curb the powers of the presidency as well as protect individual liberties. What they got was far less. But in the first Congress in 1789, James Madison, true to his pledge, considered all the amendments and shepherded 12 amendments through both houses.

The first two of these failed in the states; one would have enlarged the House. The 10 that were ratified by December 1791 were what we have since called the Bill of Rights, protecting freedom of expression and the rights of the accused before the law. Abraham Yates considered them "trivial and unimportant." But other democrats looked on them much more favorably. In time the limited meaning of freedom of speech in the First Amendment was broadened far beyond the framers' original intent. Later popular movements thought of the Bill of Rights as an essential part of the "constitutional" and "republican" rights that belonged to the people.

The "losers" role: There is a cautionary tale here that surely goes beyond the process of framing and adopting the Constitution and Bill of Rights from 1787 to 1791. The Constitution was as democratic as it was because of the influence of popular movements that were a presence, even if not present. The losers helped shape the results. We owe the Bill of Rights to the opponents of the Constitution, as we do many other features in the Constitution put in to anticipate opposition.

In American history popular movements often shaped elites, especially in times of crisis when elites were concerned with the "system." Elites have often divided in response to such threats and according to their perception of the "genius" of the people. Some have turned to coercion, others to accommodation. We run serious risks if we ignore this distinction. Would that we had fewer Gouverneur Morris and Alexander Hamiltons and more James Madisons and James Wilsons to respond to the "genius" of the people.

Alfred F. Young is professor of history at Northern Illinois University and recently served as guest curator at the Chicago Historical Society for a new permanent exhibit, "We the People: Creating the Nation, 1765-1820."



The United States Constitution was as democratic as it was because of the influence of popular movements that were a presence, even if not present at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. The losers helped shape the results.

stronger national government that would advance ocean-going commerce and protect American manufacturers from competition. But they would not have been as ardent about the new frame of government without its saving graces. It clearly preserved their rights to suffrage. And the process of ratification, like the Constitution itself, guaranteed them a voice. As early as 1776 the New York City Committee of Mechanics held it as "a right which God has given them in common with all men to judge whether it be consistent with their interest to accept or reject a constitution."

Mechanics turned out en masse in the parades celebrating ratification, marching trade by trade. The slogans and symbols they carried expressed their political ideals. In New York the upholsterers had a float with an elegant "Federal Chair of State" flanked by the symbols of Liberty and Justice that they identified with the Constitution. In Philadelphia the bricklayers put on their banner "Both buildings and rulers are the work of our hands."



# LETTERS

## A look back

ALEXANDER COCKBURN'S QUOTE (ITT, AUG. 19) from a speech by Sen. George F. Hoar, delivered in 1898, was a gravely needed look at a bit of what we have lost along the way. His selection of the time frame was especially clever, since a quote from an earlier period—from the founding fathers, for example—would be automatically discounted as being from a more innocent period and less-sophisticated source, and therefore irrelevant to these complex times.

Contrasting the narrow spectrum of political and social ideas granted patriotic respectability today to the free range of ideas acceptable in the past is easily disposed of by those who use fear as the tool of repression, now as always.

Among those things of the mind which we have lost along the way to this new patriotism of North and Reagan are the agnosticism of Bob Ingersoll, once so popular in the farm communities of the Midwest; the atheism of Herbert Spencer; the enlightenment of Debs and Graham Wallis; the Fabianism of T.H. Green. Imagine a Republican president today daring to propose a personal property tax as Teddy Roosevelt, in 1906, proposed the inheritance tax. Or imagine the media suggesting, as some did then, that the tax should be confiscatory.

It is hard to imagine any Democratic candidate for the presidency—with, of course, the exception of Jesse Jackson—saying as the later, greater Roosevelt said, "Long before the economic blight of the Depression descended on the nation, millions of our people were living in wastelands of want and fear." Or, "Publicity is the enemy of crookedness." Or, "We have more faith in the collective opinion of all Americans than in the individual opinion of any one American."

That ideas, and not the suppression of ideas, are the danger in the nuclear age is the greatest irony of our times. It is a political snake oil that the right has been peddling forever.

Hugh A. Ely  
East Hampton, N.Y.

## Blocking Bork

JOHN B. JUDIS IS RIGHT ON THE MARK IN HIS analysis of Sen. Joseph Biden's approach to the Robert Bork confirmation process (ITT, Aug. 19). Any liberal who opposes Bork on the ground that his appointment "upsets the balance" on the court is open to an obvious charge of hypocrisy. Of course, the right is hypocritical as well in arguing that politics plays no part in the judicial selection process; tell that to former Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court Rose Bird. Still, Judis is correct that political arguments—while more fun than serious constitutional analysis—will not sway the key moderate senators who must be convinced if we are serious about defeating Bork.

In my opinion, a strong case can in fact be made against Bork's confirmation. Bork is a follower of the so-called "Chicago school" of thought. Chicago schoolers believe that a "cost-benefit" analysis must be applied to all laws to determine their validity. Bork, therefore, is neither a "strict con-

structionist" nor a believer in *stare decisis*; he is, rather, a radical activist who will apply an economic balancing test to all laws. (Thus, Bork's decision overturning regulations limiting the ability of nuclear power companies to bill ratepayers for unopened plants. Since ratepayers would "benefit" if the plant opened, he argued, they must share in the "cost," even if the plant is deemed too costly or unsafe to operate. Thus, also, Bork's writings on antitrust law, which Bork abhors. In 1978, claiming that the benefits of antitrust laws had never been proven, Bork wrote that courts could and should substitute their judgment for that of Congress and sharply curtail antitrust enforcement.) This explains Bork's consistent record in upholding regulations attacked by consumers but overturning those attacked by business.

A Supreme Court influenced by Bork's powerful though misguided intellect could begin analyzing each piece of civil rights, environmental protection, land use planning and labor legislation based on a similarly perverse "balancing test," thus placing all such laws in serious jeopardy. Hardly a prescription for "judicial restraint," is it?

These are the types of arguments that can sway "moderate" senators such as Republican Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania. But, like Judis, I fear Joe Biden is not capable of making such sophisticated arguments.

I hope we're both wrong.

David P. Koppelman  
Los Angeles

## Explosion

HERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS THE IRAN-CONTRA hearings should have delved into instead of playing patty-cake with the witnesses they called up. If the American people really knew the full story, outrage would explode from coast to coast.

1. Drugs brought into America by CIA-controlled contras and sold for bullets are kidnapping our kids.

2. The "freedom fighters" in Nicaragua are raping and torturing and killing more women and children than they are killing men in the fighting against the Sandinistas.

3. Far from being "freedom fighters," the contras were recruited from the army and police of Somoza's government, the dictator swept away by the popular revolution in Nicaragua.

4. TOW missiles and airplane parts that the National Security Council gang sold to Iran can now come back to us by killing American servicemen in the Persian Gulf.

5. The Iran mess was our fault to begin

with: We (the CIA) overthrew a democratically elected government under Premier Mossadegh in 1952 and installed the bloody dictatorship of the Shah which led to the present Khomeini regime.

6. Our "patriotic" gang which handled the Iran deal ripped off millions of dollars to enrich themselves.

7. In at least 50 other spots around the world covert activities similar to the ones being investigated are now taking place—such as support to slave government of South Africa where an oppressive regime of the four million whites is keeping 25 million blacks in bloody subjection with our help.

8. Lt. Col. North's gang were the same ones responsible for Operation Phoenix in the Vietnam War in which 30,000 civilians were assassinated.

Don Amter  
New York

## The CIA's war with Cuba?

THE MOST POPULAR TELEVISION PROGRAM IN Cuba this summer is *The CIA's War Against Cuba*. Since the early '60s Cuban leaders have charged the CIA with anti-Cuban subversion and terrorism aimed at destroying the Cuban Revolution. This seven-part documentary graphically depicts supposed U.S. diplomats engaged in a variety of alleged espionage activities.

On July 24, near Artemisa in Havana province 10 Cuban State Security Force agents told the press how and why they had infiltrated the CIA. One agent's story was of particular interest to me.

In 1981 an unusually virulent Dengue fever epidemic swept across Cuba. At least 100 children died from the mosquito-carried virus. First detected in a children's hospital in May, the disease ultimately struck more than 344,000 Cubans.

My husband and I were in Cuba in August of 1981 after the Cubans had implemented measures to eliminate the Dengue-carrying *Aedes aegypti* mosquito. Widespread pesticide spraying was in effect. Since we were traveling with our two young sons we were intent upon following news of the epidemic. As we watched work crews spraying neighborhoods we wondered which was more hazardous to our health, the *Aedes aegypti* or the malathion mist. Actually, in our travels from one end of the island to the other, we didn't see a single mosquito.

During and after the epidemic, speculations about possible CIA involvement surfaced.

Dr. Eduardo Sagaro, a pediatric gastroenterologist, was recruited by the CIA while

heading Cuba's medical team in Mozambique in 1979. When asked if the actions of the CIA with which he was familiar had caused harm to Cuba or the Cuban people, he answered passionately in the affirmative. He explained that a Cuban counterrevolutionary and convicted killer of a Cuban diplomat in New York, Aduardo Arocena, testified during his trial that his organization, Omega 7, had introduced bacteriological warfare agents such as the Dengue virus into Cuba at the request of the CIA. Also, in his role as a double agent, Dr. Sagaro alleges he was questioned extensively by CIA operatives just prior to the outbreak. They wanted to know what possible negative results Dengue fever would have for Cuba. He was also questioned by CIA agents following the epidemic in '81 and was asked to make an evaluation of the mortality rate, number of cases, information about the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito and Cuban pesticide reserves.

According to Sagaro, his last contact with the CIA took place in Spain in May this year. At that meeting he claims he was asked how he thought the AIDS virus could be introduced into Cuba. "This is genocide against innocent people," said Sagaro. The U.S. State Department has refused to comment on the alleged secret war being waged against Cuba. But in light of covert activities, plausible deniability and disregard for law by U.S. government agencies recently exposed during the Iran-contra hearings, anything is believable.

Deborah Shaw Hickerson  
Davis, Calif.

## Dissonant convergence?

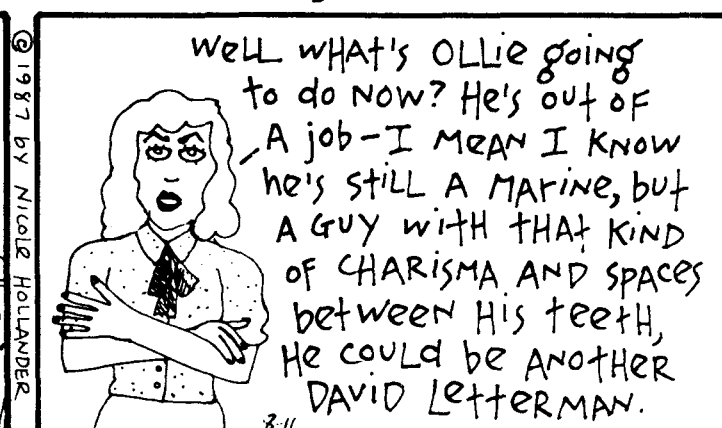
CONGRATULATIONS TO PAT AUFDERHEIDE for her very perceptive and incisive report on the Moscow Film Festival (ITT, Aug. 5) and the changes that Mikhail Gorbachov's *glasnost* is bringing to the Soviet film industry. I attended one of those Moscow film festivals and I know how difficult it can be, during a short few days visit, to find out what is going on behind the screens.

For years the Soviets have criticized Hollywood for being under the control of a few capitalists who subjugate art to ideology and box-office profits. Now, as Aufderheide reports, we know that the Soviet film industry has been subject to the same considerations.

Does this support the theory of convergence of the two societies, or that bureaucrats are the same the world over?

Yale Richmond  
Alexandria, Va.

## SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



By Hillel Schenker

**I** SRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR recently declared a policy of "three nos" concerning the Israeli-Arab conflict: "no to an international conference for peace, no to the participation of the Soviet Union in the peace process and no to the PLO as a partner of any sorts to negotiations for peace." This was extremely reminiscent of the "three nos of Khartoum," the resolutions of the Arab League Summit Conference on Sept. 1, 1967, immediately after the Six Day War: "no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel (and) no negotiations with it...."

The Arabs have come a long way since then. Egypt has signed a peace treaty with Israel, the Arab League Summit Statement at Fez in 1982 declared Arab readiness for "Security Council guarantees for peace for all the states of the region," which is considered to be an indirect recognition of Israel's right to exist, and now Egypt, Jordan, Syria and even the PLO support the convening of an international conference for peace, with the participation of all the parties to the conflict, to seek a political resolution to the remaining aspects of the conflict.

Israel is presenting a divided response to this Arab readiness for an international peace conference as befits its "two-headed wonder," the National Unity Government. While it will undoubtedly make a unique contribution to future political science textbooks, the union of Prime Minister Shamir's right-wing Likud bloc together with Vice Prime Minister Shimon Peres' Labor Party and its allies, makes potential progress in the peace process virtually impossible.

While Peres, in his role as foreign minister, has been promoting the idea of an international peace conference, and has announced his readiness for Soviet participation in such a conference (without which it is assumed it would be impossible to convene it), Shamir, already noted by his "three nos," is opposed both to an international peace conference and to Soviet participation in the peace process. Underlying Shamir's opposition is his awareness that any potential positive outcome of such a conference would require Israel to abandon sovereignty over most or all of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and this is something that he and his party are utterly opposed to.

Since Peres, the Labor Party and its allies are disturbed by the moral and socio-economic impact of Israel's ongoing rule over 1.4 million Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip against their will, they realize that a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict requires territorial compromise. They are not opposed either to an international conference or to Soviet participation in such a conference. As it becomes more and more apparent that an international conference is the only realistic vehicle for moving the peace process forward, Peres has become an active advocate and has responded positively to Soviet gestures toward an eventual resumption of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations—unilaterally broken by the Soviet Union in 1967.

But Peres and Shamir agree on excluding the PLO from participation in the peace process. Since Shamir is opposed to an international peace conference, with or without PLO participation, it is understood that the

## Israel and PLO send mixed peace signals

international peace conference scenario can be advanced only after the breakup of the National Unity Government and new elections—assuming a new government dominated by Labor and its potential liberal and left-wing allies, Mapam, Citizens' Rights and the new Liberal Center Party.

Even if all of this falls into place, we still are left with the "Catch 22" question about the PLO role in the peace process. Despite all the Egyptian and Jordanian frustrations with the PLO leadership and its inability or unwillingness to take advantage until now of historic opportunities to solve the Palestinian problem through political compromise, neither Mubarak nor Hussein will attempt to determine the fate of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip without the PLO. The "Jordanian option" that Peres has advocated is an illusion. It's hard to believe that he believes in it himself.

**Sole representative:** The Israeli peace movement and virtually all Israeli journalists who cover the occupied territories and the Israeli-Arab conflict are convinced that the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people, both in the occupied territories and in the Palestinian diaspora, accept the PLO as their representative.

We condemn their use of terror, which they euphemistically call "armed struggle," and believe that their leaders have made many mistakes. But we also see the facts in the field, which include no small amount of achievements. No alternative Palestinian leadership will arise in the foreseeable future. We have to work with what we've got (and none of us are particularly excited about the current Israeli leadership either). Jordan's King Hussein, the great survivor, sees the same reality, and he knows that any attempt on his part to arrive at a separate arrangement with Israel would be suicidal.

Since Peres is one of the more intelligent leaders active on the world scene today, we can assume that he also sees and understands this reality. So why does he continue to reject the idea of PLO participation in an international conference?

The answer is that Peres is afraid of the response of the Israeli electorate. Although the PLO is a multi-faceted national liberation movement, with political, military, economic, social, cultural and educational arms, most Israelis consider it simply a terrorist organization whose ultimate goal is the elimination of the state of Israel. Were Peres and the other Labor Party leaders to advocate talks with the PLO, either directly or within the framework of an international conference, the Israeli right would have a field day. They would accuse Peres of being a "PLO lover," ready to talk to murderers, etc. This demagoguery would strike a responsive chord in many Israelis.

**Palestinian stubbornness:** The Palestinian leadership has greatly contributed to this negative image. Time after time, the leadership has missed opportunities for a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based upon political compromise. They did not respond favorably to the British partition proposal of 1937, to the U.N. partition

plan in 1947 and to Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's invitation to participate in what became the Camp David process in 1978. The Palestine National Covenant, formulated in 1968, which says that "Palestine is the homeland [only] of the Palestinian people," that "armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine," that it is the Arab duty to "purge the Zionist presence from Palestine" and that the Zionist movement is "fascist and Nazi in its means" hangs like an albatross over the PLO's desire to participate in the political process.

Every new Palestinian act of terror against Israeli civilians for which the PLO leadership takes public responsibility makes it that much more difficult for Peres, or any other Israeli leader of national stature, to express public support for PLO participation in the political process.

The PLO has travelled a long way since the days of the rejectionist phraseology of the Covenant. In the resolutions of the 18th Palestine National Council held in Algiers in April, the PLO reaffirmed its support (since 1974) of "the right to establish an independent state on Palestinian land," which could be interpreted as meaning in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip alongside the state of Israel, advocated a "political struggle" to accomplish national goals alongside the traditional "armed struggle," supported "the Arab peace plan which approved the Fez Summit in 1982," supported "the convening of an international conference for peace in the Middle East" and sup-

**Israel is presenting a divided response to an Arab readiness for an international peace conference. The PLO has moved toward making peace possible, but must stop its violent acts.**

ported the development of relations "with Israeli democratic forces" who support the Palestinian right to self-determination. All of this is clear progress on the road to reconciliation and a possible solution to the Palestinian problem.

Unfortunately, the PLO still has not explicitly recognized Israel's right to exist, and it still carries out terrorist activities against Israel.

In order to create conditions for possible PLO participation in political negotiations, two ministers in the Labor-Alignment dominated governments of the late '60s and '70s, Minister of Information Maj. Gen. Aharon Yariv (Labor) and Minister of Health Victor Shemtov (Mapam) created the Yariv-Shemtov formula, which states that Israel will negotiate with any Palestinian factor (i.e. the PLO) that recognizes Israel's right to exist and condemns terror. The formula was later updated to include a recognition of

the mutual right to self-determination of both the Palestinians and the Israelis. Although the formula was never officially adopted, it is assumed that this is general Labor Party policy. If these conditions were met, the Labor Party would presumably accept the idea of PLO participation in the peace process.

**Israel-PLO dialogue:** I was in Budapest on June 11 of this year at the time of the most recent encounter between Israeli peace activists and a high level PLO delegation. When I asked two PLO executive members, Abu Mazen and Abd al-Razzaq al-Yahya, within the framework of an international press conference, what they felt should be done to break the impasse, they said that "Israel should recognize us as a people, should recognize the PLO, our sole representative, and recognize our right to self-determination." In theory, they are right. But in practice, there is no chance that this will happen until the PLO recognizes the terms of the Yariv-Shemtov formula. When I asked them whether they are ready to recognize the mutual right to self-determination of both the Jewish and the Palestinian peoples, they responded, "This is a subject we will talk about during the negotiations. When we say that we want a state in accordance with the U.N. resolutions, you know what we mean." When I responded, "But the Israeli people do not understand what you mean; would you formulate it more clearly?" they said, "When we negotiate with the government of Israel, everything will be understood, everything will be talked about and everything will be solved."

This evasive response is clearly not a message that can be presented to the Israeli public in an election campaign.

This also holds true for the evasive response I received concerning the PLO's readiness for a mutual moratorium on violence to prepare the ground for negotiations. They said, "We are against terrorism; but at the same time we believe that the Palestinian people have the right to take up arms to fight for their freedom and their rights." This is a double message, and it makes absolutely no impression on Israeli public opinion, particularly when it is accompanied by ongoing acts of indiscriminate terror against innocent civilians. As *Jerusalem Post* Middle East editor Yehuda Litani recently said: "The most important step that the Palestinians could take to influence mainstream Israelis is to declare a total halt on terrorist activities." Minister Ezer Weizman (Labor), the most outspoken proponent of the peace process in the current Israeli government, put it very simply: "Stop the bombs and we can start talking."

The PLO does have a role in the peace process. Without the participation of Palestinian representatives authorized by the PLO, no progress will be possible. The trick is to find a formula for the participation of such representatives that will be acceptable to Shimon Peres. The PLO claim that everyone "except the United States and Israel" accepts the idea of PLO participation in the peace process is well-founded. But as long as Israel, or at least that part of Israel that is represented by Shimon Peres, remains an exception to this rule, the PLO will be left out in the cold.

Hillel Schenker is an editor of the English-language Israeli magazine *New Outlook*.



## Gorbachov gets green light, but stalls

By Alexander Amerisov

**T**HE JUNE 26 MEETING OF THE CENTRAL Committee of the Soviet Communist Party flashed a green light for Mikhail Gorbachov's *perestroika*—a long-overdue overhaul of the Soviet economic system that will allow much greater freedom to individual companies to determine the type of product they produce, how much, at what price (within government-authorized limits), and how much they pay their employees. "Business contracts" will replace the quota system. Companies will be free to enter into business arrangements with any supplier or customer they choose. The central planning agencies will be reduced to a supervisory role, providing general guidelines for economic and social development. Market competition will be encouraged. It also means increased reliance on unemployment to "motivate" the Soviet worker.

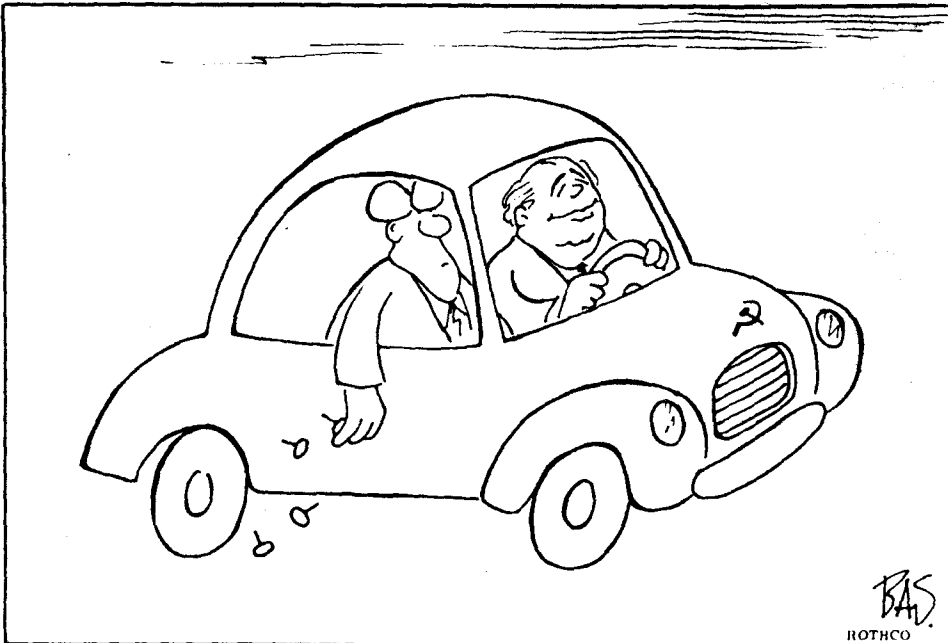
**Unemployment:** Unemployment is nothing new for the Soviet Union. Massive "staff reductions" and factory closings have long been a part of Soviet life. Large pockets of unemployment have long existed in many geographical areas and professions. But while unemployment exists, unemployment insurance doesn't.

No official unemployment statistics are available for the country as a whole. But figures issued by the Soviet Central Statistical Agency for 1986 show that the total working-age population increased by about two million more than the number of job holders. It means the addition of at least 1.8 percent above the already existing, but unknown, unemployment rate.

With Gorbachov's *glasnost*, some additional figures on regional and industry-wide unemployment have become available. More than one million mostly rural adult residents who want to work in the Soviet Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan cannot find a job, *Selskaya Zhizn* reported on March 24. The total working-age population in that republic is no more than seven million. There are more than 200,000 unemployed in the neighboring, much smaller, republic of Tadzhikistan, reported *Kommunist Tadzhikistana* on January 20. Of this number, a quarter live in cities.

There are more than 250,000 unemployed in the Soviet republic of Azerbaizhan in the Caucasus, according to a five-part article in the March 25-29 issue of the daily *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya*, making for a 10 percent unemployment rate there. In Azerbaizhan's capital city of Baku, 12 percent of adults are out of work.

Unemployed villagers come to the city in search of jobs. Unable to get jobs or residency permits, they built a shantytown on the outskirts of Baku. More than 200,000 people, or a quarter of the city's population, live there now in unauthorized structures that went up overnight and are unfit for habitation. Embarrassed city authorities put a high wall around it, according to *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya*. Almost one-third of those charged with committing a crime in Baku do not have jobs. Last year alone, more than 1,000 people were charged with leading "a parasitic life," i.e., being unemployed, and were criminally prosecuted.



Unemployment for more than six months is a criminal offense in the Soviet Union.

Unemployment among educated, degreed professionals also keeps on growing. In Baku, *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* found that about 8,000 teachers are otherwise employed; 3,600 teachers cannot find any job at all. More than one-third of technical college graduates cannot find a job in their specialty. Some 1,500 specialists in humanities and social work are unemployed, as are hundreds of doctors and physicians. The real unemployment figures are probably even higher. There is a list of 14,000 graduates of the teachers' college in Baku—seven years' worth—who are on the waiting list for a job as a teacher.

On Jan. 4, 1986, the daily *Sovetskaya Kultura* quoted the deputy director of Moscow's Institute for Economic Research as saying that by the time Gorbachov's reforms fully take root, 13 to 19 million industrial workers and other employees will be temporarily out of work.

To streamline the railroad industry, more than 12,000 workers in the Odessa Railroad System were let go last year alone. Similar layoffs took place at the seven other Soviet railroad systems. Based on Odessa's experience, we estimate that more than 200,000 railroad workers were "released" from their jobs. Commenting on Odessa's layoffs, the government daily *Izvestiya* mused that those laid-off probably "were not the best workers," and, "Let's be frank, there are plenty of them." Anyway, already "all that pain-in-the-back talk about labor shortages has stopped."

Like the homeless, the unemployed in the Soviet Union are never referred to as such, but by euphemisms such as "lazies," "temporarily between jobs," "bums," "incompetents" and "parasites."

During an April 1986 party meeting in Moscow, Boris Yeltsyn, the local Communist Party boss, said there were more than 200,000 "non-working parasites" in the city. That's approximately a 5 percent unemployment rate—high for any society, but catastrophic for a country where unemployment compensation doesn't exist.

**No Nobel Prize yet, please:** During a recent meeting with one American delegation to the Soviet Union, Gorbachov remarked that the person who "abolishes un-

employment" should get the Nobel Prize. Clearly he meant himself as a prime candidate for the prize, since the Soviet Union supposedly no longer has unemployment.

How does Gorbachov deal with the problem of unemployment in Moscow? In the same way all previous Soviet—and Russian tsarist—regimes did: by deporting people from the city and denying non-Moscovites the right to live there.

During a May 6 meeting with the openly anti-Semitic organization Pamyat', or "Memory," Boris Yeltsyn assured them that issuance of new *propiskas*—permits for residency—in Moscow had stopped "almost completely." (Pamyat' complained that alien non-Moscovites had flooded Moscow.)

The *propiska* is a police authorization to live in a certain city, at a certain address, for a specific period of time. The police stamp the *propiska* in a citizen's internal passport. If *propiska* is denied, the decision is not subject to court appeal. Last year tens of thousands of largely blue-collar workers were refused renewal of their temporary permits to live in Moscow. They were evicted from their dormitories and had to leave Moscow.

We understand that the black market for fictitious marriages to Moscovites has expanded dramatically. Such marriages now go for anywhere between 3,000 and 5,500 rubles—more than two years' wages for the average worker. It is now easier for a

foreigner to enter and live in the U.S. than for a Soviet citizen to move to Moscow.

In a recent letter to *Izvestiya*, one unnamed "noted 77-year-old scientist" complained that the police would not permit his equally old sister to share his own Moscow apartment. *Izvestiya's* answer was, "It is the law...not subject to court appeal."

Besides keeping families divided, such laws also restrict economic opportunities for Moscovites. More than ever, they are reluctant to take up jobs in other cities for fear of losing their *propiskas*. Well-educated Moscovites would rather take menial jobs or go unemployed than lose their right to live there.

These methods of supervising the flow of labor supply are antagonistic to the modern needs of the Soviet economy. The police economy keeps Soviet society technologically and spiritually backward. Besides residency permits, there are wide-ranging prohibitions on job selection because of legal sex discrimination or political loyalties, and prohibitions against hiring degreed people for jobs where the government says no degree is required.

**Another side of Gorbachov's reforms:** Gorbachov has reintroduced Stalin's method of supervising work quality. Procurator General Alexander Rekunov said in the February 16 issue of *Pravda* that about 80 railroad employees faced criminal prosecution for what he called "non-economical use of materials."

Gorbachov's reforms have the green light now. But he should take his foot off the brake while pressing the other on the gas pedal. Gorbachov must acknowledge existing unemployment, institute some kind of unemployment compensation and retraining programs, and abolish police methods of managing the Soviet work force. Economic growth is incompatible with the current restrictions. Independent trade unions and employee associations must be permitted—the Communist Party cannot be an employer and defender of the employees at the same time. Gorbachov's *glasnost* must be replaced with genuine freedom of speech. Without it, Gorbachov will forever complain about opposition...because he will have it. Not opposition from the Communist Party or state bureaucracy, but opposition of the Soviet people. ■

**Alexander Amerisov** is editor of the Chicago-based newsletter "Soviet-American Review," and Soviet affairs commentator for National Public Radio's *Morning Edition*.

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By Salim Muwakkil

## Rustin: Gay outcast of "the Movement"

**B**AYARD RUSTIN, WHO DIED AUGUST 24 at the age of 75, was denied the executive leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1959 because he was gay. This information was officially disclosed in a recent book by historian Aldon Morris entitled *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*. But many in the civil rights community already had unofficial knowledge of this and several other slights to the tall, elegant man who played such an important role in formulating the non-violent philosophy of the civil rights movement.

And although Rustin was at the center of the movement's largest and most significant events, he ended his life as a marginal figure. Rustin's gayness was added to the list of his other "eccentricities"—his avid support for Israel, his lack of reverence for the black-power catechism—that allowed movement leaders increasingly to ignore

### PROTEST

his counsel and even deny his relevance. By the time of his death, Rustin's influence within the black civil rights fraternity had withered down to insignificant, at best. This, despite the praise-filled eulogies issued by black leaders upon his death by cardiac arrest.

Rustin always was viewed with suspicion; his agenda was too varied. His movement credentials were long and impressive: In 1947 he participated in the prototype of what would become the Freedom Rides, he was a top aide to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., he held leadership posts in major civil rights groups and organized the massive 1963 March on Washington. He was also involved in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters League and other pacifist organizations.

**That Gandhi touch:** His commitment to non-violence was philosophical and extended beyond the struggle of African-Americans; Rustin was involved in anti-nuclear organizations in Europe and he was an enthusiastic supporter of India's non-violent revolution. He was instrumental in turning Dr. King toward the ideas of Mohandas Gandhi. As he explained in the June 30 edition of the *Village Voice*, many of King's associates, including Andrew Young and Jesse Jackson, resented his influence on the charismatic minister.

Intellectually gifted, it was Rustin who applied the philosophical ideals of non-violence to the protest form that became the civil rights movement's *modus operandi*. He is largely responsible for providing the movement with its most distinctive tactic, and the one that proved enormously effective.



Bayard Rustin: pushed from the center of a movement to the edge of obscurity.

tive.

Despite this, Rustin's overall political ideas differed considerably from those of the civil rights mainstream—which shouldn't be surprising, he being a gay, socialist, Quaker pacifist in a field made up primarily of Southern Baptist clergymen. His conceptual and organizing skills were so important, how-

ever, his oddness was tolerated. But as the decision to pass him over as SCLC director indicated, that tolerance had its limits.

**The hobgoblin of consistency:** The remarkable consistency of Rustin's ideas was the primary cause of his outsider status. When he protested North Carolina's discriminatory bus seating laws in

1947, Rustin's logic was the same he later used to argue against black studies departments in universities.

"The argument can, of course, be made that separate need not be unequal," Rustin wrote in a 1969 news release from the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which he headed at the time. "But black people have heard this argument before—from Southern racists justifying Jim Crow and from Northern bigots rationalizing *de facto* segregation. They have heard it long enough to know that 'separate but equal' shall always be a form of exploitation and degradation. And it shall continue to be such, whether it is demanded by whites out of malicious intent, or

by blacks out of the poignant need, born of fear and insecurity, to withdraw from competition with the larger society."

When he denounced the manifest anti-Semitism being pushed by leading black nationalists in the late '60s and early '70s, his denunciations were interchangeable with those he once levelled at Southern segregationists. In another '69 release from the Randolph Institute, Rustin wrote, "Mahatma Gandhi, the great revolutionary of this century, who led India to independence, often said, 'One becomes the thing he hates.' And there is disturbing evidence that some black youth today have begun to accept the very worst ideas and concepts that were employed by Southern white racists to brutalize and emasculate black people."

**Fighting black racism:** The release, entitled *The Disease of Racism*, cautioned against the then popular notion of regarding blackness as a value superceding all others. "Do we believe that we can make progress adopting the very values and concepts that have brutalized us?" Are we, Rustin asked, "to become the thing we hate?" He consistently struggled against what he feared was a growing acceptance of black racism.

Such unvarying consistency is admirable. But it also tends to encourage an insensitivity to changing historical contexts. One topical example of this insensitivity is the popular argument that affirmative action programs are inconsistent with the principle of racial neutrality. In technical terms, the argument is irrefutable. But by ignoring the historical uniqueness of slavery and Jim Crow racism, that view actually is inconsistent with the spirit of race neutrality. Many of Rustin's positions were stale and similarly out of context. Still, he remained a major obstacle to black militants becoming the thing they hated.

Rustin himself had become the thing many black groups hated. In the influential, militant journals of the black-power era, primarily the *Black Scholar*, *Black World* and Brooklyn's *Black News*, Rustin was regularly, often bitterly, excoriated. His sexual preference was used by his critics to bludgeon his credibility on all other matters, and it worked. The black leadership of the new era banished Rustin to the netherworld of movement icons, useful as symbols of a bygone era, but functionally irrelevant. What's more, the widespread homophobia that frustrated his potential and diminished his accomplishments is still at large in the black movement. For many young blacks it took Rustin's death to acquaint them with his significance. But one major lesson of his life still seemed to get lost: a crude bias lurks even within the heart of this country's major movement formed to fight bias. ■

**It was Rustin who applied the philosophical ideals of non-violence to the protest form that became the civil rights movement's *modus operandi*.**



## Talk Radio

Directed by Frederick Zollo  
Visuals by Tad Savinar, based on  
an original idea by Tad Savinar  
Written by Eric Bogosian

By Kathleen M. Reyes

IT'S 8 P.M. AT WTLK CLEVELAND, and host Barry Champlain is point man on a radio reality bust, ready to throw every starry-eyed caller up against the broadcast wall and mow them down with a crack-shot ventilation of their own prejudices and self-defensive illusions. They love it. "This decadent country needs a loud voice, needs somebody to shake it up, and that somebody is me," Barry declared in his opening volley. "Night Talk," Cleveland's most controversial call-in radio show, begins.

*Talk Radio*, the play in which Barry's show takes place, brilliantly examines the disintegrating line between media discussion of social issues and pure entertainment, a disintegration by which we watch the very meaning of Barry's life slither out of his grasp. In his own terms he is, ultimately, king of the rubes, the same rubes he has been cajoling, manipulating and otherwise jerking around since his small-time deejay years in Akron: Barry slams into the revelation that he himself is the most deluded of all.

**Talkin' that talk:** Conceived by Portland, Ore., visual artist Tad Savinar, *Talk Radio* leapt from idea to project when Savinar saw the work of Eric Bogosian, a New York actor/monologist. Bogosian's blackly funny one-man shows like *FunHouse* (1983) and *Drinking in America* (1985) were arm-swinging, phone-shouting, floor-rolling portrayals of American Everymen, usually of the opportunist or terminally defeated variety. (A half-hour version of *FunHouse* recently aired on PBS as part of the series *Alive from Off Center*.) Through nonstop dialogues with unseen others, Bogosian's characters reveal the nasty implications of the American dream as actually practiced: Look Out for Number One, Survival of the Fittest and Individual Improvement drag along the unseverable corpse of Mass Disenfranchisement.

Savinar found Bogosian's biting wit perfect for the cut-throat-no-slack talk show host he had in mind. Their collaboration first came to fruition in a January 1985 workshop production at the Portland Center for the Visual Arts. It was a very different presentation than the current version at New York's Public Theater, having more qualities in common with Bogosian's earlier work: He is the only onstage actor; nothing on the set but a table and a microphone; more work to be done by the audience, which had



Eric Bogosian as Barry slams into his own delusions.

## Eric Bogosian's call of the wild

to bring more of its own contexts—and responsibility—to experiencing Bogosian's uncompromising picture.

Fleshed out by Bogosian into a commercial play with a detailed sound-studio set, four major on-stage supporting roles and a modest real-time plot, the off-Broadway Public Theater production of *Talk Radio* relies on Savinar's stage-backdrop visual projections to suggest the private, imaginative world between Barry and each caller. These projections are often extremely direct images, such as the close-ups of voracious, deformed mouths seen as Barry talks with a child abuser. Sometimes, working with geometry and color, the slides seem to have only a stream-of-consciousness relation to the conversation at hand; on occasion they contribute a perhaps unintentional absurdity; as when, during a call by a paranoid, we see a long progression of kitchens and dens that have been seriously rearranged by the uninvited arrival of a late-model auto or, for some reason, one airplane. Projections are also used to introduce with indirect captions ("You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs") the disjunction with real-time presented by the monologue/asides given by three of Barry's associates.

**On the precipice of fame:** This edition of "Night Talk" is the eve of the show's debut to nationwide syndication. The pressure is on. The Big Sponsors are listening. Clearly, a turning point is in the offing. Syndication eve provides a

**In the new production of *Talk Radio* Bogosian has reached masterfully beyond his incisive monologues to create an intricate web of speech.**

reason for station manager Dan Woodruff, ably played by Mark Metcalf, to keep barging in and out of Barry's studio.

Dan knows all along that in Barry he has a fireball that can only explode of its own contradictions, but he's going to play his "joker" for all he's worth until he burns out. Metcalf conveys the callous tidiness of Dan's businessman's conviction that mixing up broadcast entertainment and social benefit is a fatal flaw. You'll crash if you think what you're doing is more than a

job. "That's Barry's problem," he says in his aside to the audience, "not mine."

Barry's broadcast assistant, Stu Noonan, came to that conclusion way back in Akron, when he and Barry were hippie deejays at the same station. In his monologue, John C. McGinley (seen in *Platoon*) shows Stu's affection for Barry, dwelling partly in their long association, partly in the double shot of

## THEATER

Barry's talent and charisma and largely in the fact that Barry believes passionately in what he's doing. That's where Stu failed, becoming a mere screener of calls, a career hanger-on to his colleague's rising star. Though McGinley plays a Stu who is numbed, almost desultory as he goes about his work, he also shows a loyalty to Barry that seems to go beyond the benefit of his coattails.

It falls to the female character to describe something of Champlain's troubled emotional life, and for this the studio gofer, played by Robyn Peterson, is enlisted. Linda MacArthur is efficient, sympathetic and stacked—a medium for serving coffee and the requisite sexual encounter. If Peterson lacks some conviction during Linda's monologue the trouble may be in that we've heard it all before: Clumsy seduction followed by a bad night redeemed by mad passionate love in the rosy dawn. He goes away, she scratches her head; she's glimpsed his inner turmoil but is unable, through her merely physical ministrations, to touch it. Though she's a decent gal with a healthy reflex to sleep with guys she hardly knows who ask nicely, and though she establishes that Barry is not gay, as a vehicle for revealing Barry's central conflict Linda's aside is relatively ineffectual.

**Indecent exposures:** What is it that Barry so passionately believes in? What is it that fuels his merciless butchery of an anti-nuker's fond manifesto and his tender stringing-along of a lonely housewife who desires to caress him via her dead husband's silk shirts? It isn't any conviction of politics or conscience. One minute he's telling an anti-Semite she's disgusting scum and the next he tells a black who claims Jewish friends, "You're kissing the master's ass."

Barry's mission as he sees it is to expose his callers by whatever method he finds most interesting at the time, whether it be egging them on or committing axe murder on their gentle viewpoints. He is a public servant, he thinks, who forces listeners to look at themselves, to see their flawed motivations and their self-justifying myopia. His power is as a capricious god of the airwaves, and without those airwaves he is a crewcut

Samson.

Barry articulates, therefore he is. Stu describes how Barry once grew increasingly depressed when he temporarily lost his voice. It's not that he helps dissipate the terrible chaos on the daily news by offering a point of view, but he carves a way through it with his vitriolic commentary. The more senseless and ugly the news, the more he is driven to dominate it with diatribe.

Barry's cynicism delivers the knife-edge of Bogosian's satirical wit. Complicity is indeed at the heart of satire, and Barry, in his apolitical manipulateness, is about as complicit as they come. There's a wealth of dark hilarity in this play, even as we see Barry begin to shake apart as he realizes that the attraction his listeners have to him is the same one they have for car crashes and action films. Worse, they take him just as seriously.

Bogosian has reached masterfully beyond his incisive portraits of individuals who reveal themselves in monologue. In *Talk Radio* he creates a web of speech by many characters that focuses with unrelenting, mounting force on Barry's vulnerability. And it's the lowest of the low, a drug-eating, mind-blown punk named Kent, through whom Barry is hardest hit with his own ineffectuality.

Played almost too frenetically by Michael Wincott, Kent starts out slurring a tale over the phone about his OD'ed girlfriend. When he turns up in Barry's studio, invited by the host himself as a deliberate self-provocation, Kent's shrieking testimony about the greatness of Barry's show is the beginning of the end of Barry's illusions, already shaken by the barbs of other characters. Bogosian has a lot of talented help in the "voices" and onstage cast, but the climactic last moments of *Talk Radio* are all his, performed and written with stunning virtuosity.

It's ironic that electronic mediums like the telephone and radio are at once tools that isolated persons can use to contact a larger world and technologies that make anonymity and physical isolation possible. The idea of connection exists over the phone; we feel informed by electronic news sources. But pull these plugs and we're left without life support, unless we've committed actual involvement with living, breathing, fault-ridden human beings.

Like Barry Champlain, Bogosian offers no answer to the problem of what to do about the dark complex of modern human affairs. If we must grope it may be we'll have to resort not to the phone or the radio, but to one another.

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Kathleen M. Reyes is a Portland, Ore.-based freelance writer and photographer.



## Reborn Katharine Graham bio escapes shred menace

By Michael Moore

IT WASN'T THE SOVIET UNION. IT wasn't South Africa. The Third Reich was long gone. Nonetheless, the directive was clear and unforbearing:

"You are to make sure that these books are not only disposed of, but actually destroyed. After the books have been destroyed, give us a notarized statement to that effect."

On the night of Feb. 7, 1980, the second shift workers at Peter Paper Eater in Binghamton, N.Y., dutifully tossed hundreds of bundles of "that book" into the hogger, a miraculous shredder that turns books into recyclable pulp. Within three hours, all 20,000 copies of *Katharine the Great: Katharine Graham and the Washington Post*, had been destroyed. The pulp would be processed into clean white rolls, without a trace of the words it once contained. In a few days the rolls would be back on the giant presses in some distant printing plant, churning out yet another book, or a magazine, or a newspaper like the *Washington Post*.

As the 20,000 copies of her book were being turned into unrecognizable refuse, Deborah Davis, the 30-year-old author of *Katharine the Great*, had no idea that a few weeks prior to the shredding *Washington Post* Executive Editor Benjamin C. Bradlee had sent a letter to her publisher, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (HBJ), promising to put the company "in that special little group of publishers who don't give a shit for the truth." The newspaper responsible for bringing down the president of the United States was now offering a similar treatment to William Jovanovich's publishing house. What Davis did not know—and would not discover for some time—was that something in *Katharine the Great* had touched a nerve in Bradlee.

**The CIA and the Washington Post:** With a \$35,000 advance from HBJ, Davis began in 1976 what would become a three-year project piecing together the life story of Katharine Graham. After poring through family papers in the Library of Congress (Katharine's father was Eugene Meyer, founder of Allied Chemical and Anaconda Copper and one of the richest men in the world), Davis soon discovered a series of disturbing connections between the *Washington Post* and the CIA.

Phil Graham, who was given control of the *Post* by father-in-law Meyer in 1948, eight years after marrying Katharine, was close to the CIA brass, including its director,

Allen Dulles. Phil was a dedicated anti-communist who had no problem with using the newspaper to help the government fight the Red Menace.

He was also a manic depressive and an alcoholic who could never come to terms with his role as a poor kid who made good and ended up in one of the wealthiest families in America. In August 1963, while on a weekend pass from a mental institution, he put a shotgun to his head and killed himself. The responsibility for the *Post* fell to Katharine.

In 1965 she hired Benjamin Bradlee, a well-known and accom-

plished *Newsweek* reporter, to be editor of the *Post*. Bradlee had been close to President Kennedy, as had Phil Graham. Rumors abounded about the women Phil and Kennedy "shared." It was also believed that Kennedy was having an affair with Bradlee's sister-in-law, Mary Meyer (no relation to Katharine's family), who was murdered in 1964. Before the police had searched Meyer's apartment for clues, CIA counterintelligence chief James Angleton went in and found Meyer's diary, took it with him and told Bradlee he was going to burn it. The diary became the subject of much speculation, both about what it contained

and what Angleton actually did with it.

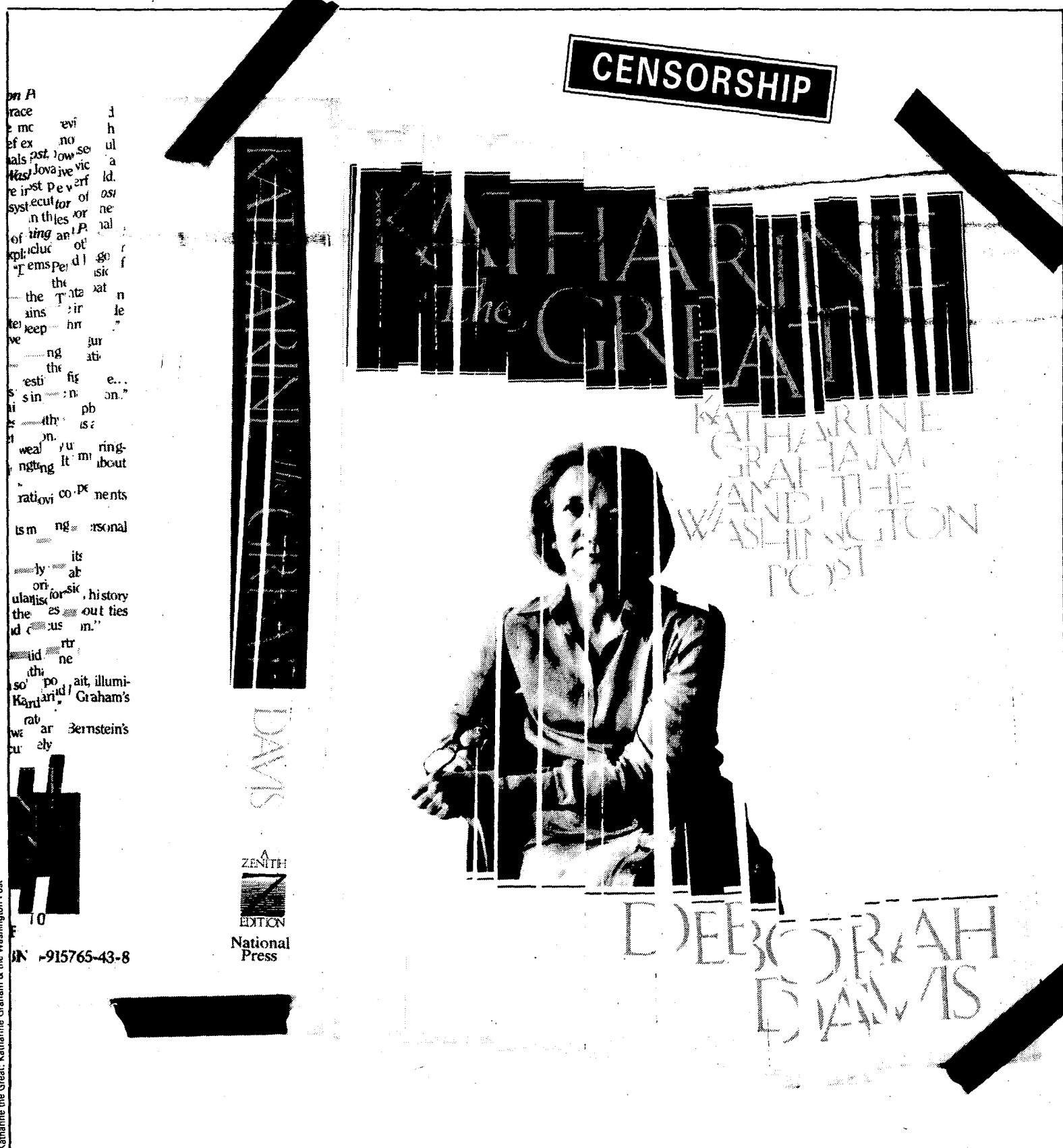
**Emerging theme:** Davis conducted more than six dozen interviews to pin down what she eventually believed to be the central theme of her story: that the *Washington Post* had, over the years, participated in the dissemination of political information beneficial to various administrations, and that its close ties to the CIA allowed it access it otherwise would not have had. Davis learned that Bradlee was on a list of U.S. Information Agency employees in the 1950s who did propaganda work in cooperation with the CIA.

She also developed a theory about who "Deep Throat" was: a man named Richard Ober, a former Harvard classmate of Bradlee's and in charge of Nixon's "Operation CHAOS," a covert domestic effort to spy on the anti-war movement. Davis concluded, based on her re-

search, that the intelligence community wanted Nixon removed because they were convinced he was mentally unstable—and they decided to use their friends at the *Post* to accomplish that objective.

HBJ was ecstatic about the chapters Davis was sending them. Inter-office memoranda show that the editors and publicists couldn't wait to publish *Katharine the Great*. The HBJ catalogue announced that *Katharine* would be their top non-fiction selection for the fall. The Literary Guild chose it as their featured alternate selection for spring 1980.

By the time the presses rolled on Oct. 19, 1979, there had been so many orders from bookstores that the first printing was already sold out. HBJ, so impressed with the attention that *Katharine the Great* was receiving, nominated it for an American Book Award. Davis had reached a rare pinnacle for a first-time author.





On Nov. 20, 1979, Bradlee sent a letter with a list of what he claimed were "39 inaccuracies" in the book to Gene Stone, Davis' editor at HBJ. The letter left no doubt about what was in store for Stone, for HBJ and for Davis.

**Ungentle Ben:** "Dear Mr. Stone," the letter began, "you were quoted ...as saying that Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 'did everything we could to make [Katharine the Great] as accurate as possible'.... That is one of those lies that should make it difficult for you to sleep at night." Bradlee went on to say that although he probably has ground to sue for libel he wouldn't do that. Instead, he made this promise: "What I can do, however, is to brand you as completely irresponsible, to tell author friends to steer clear of you as though you had the plague, to brand Miss Davis as a fool, and to put your company in that special little group of publishers who don't give a shit for the truth."

Gene Stone came a bit unglued. "I was quite scared—in fact, very scared," Stone recalls. "I mean, here was Ben Bradlee, the hero of American journalism, and I was just this little dork." To make matters worse for Stone and his boss, a reporter from the *Washington Post* called HBJ and asked if it was true "that the editor of the Katharine Graham book had been fired for having worked on the book." The reporter said that "Mr. Bradlee is not very happy with the biography."

"Mr. Jovanovich," Gene Stone wrote in a memo on December 6, "they wanted to know about me, who I was, what my relationship to this book was. Furthermore, I understand from friends of mine at the *Post* that Mr. Bradlee plans on making life difficult for me, to get back at me for working on the book. I am still fairly upset by Mr. Bradlee's continuing efforts to bother me."

Bradlee's list of "factual inaccuracies" contained such errors by Davis as "his [Bradlee's] father married his third cousin" (it was his fourth cousin), Bradlee and CIA Director Richard Helms were "childhood friends" (according to Bradlee, they did not meet until he was 37) and "Bradlee worked for six months...at the American Civil Liberties Union...which may or may not have been an intelligence assignment," which is about as loose of an accusation as one can make.

Bradlee also pronounced emphatically that he "never produced CIA material." As Davis discovered later, that was not entirely true.

HBJ was in a panic and switched into Corporate Crisis Mode. Davis agreed to correct the eight points on the list she felt were mistakes (and understood that the changes, as is routine in the book business, would be made in the second printing). William Jovanovich, though, knew he had offended one of the most powerful newspapers in the country, not a smart thing to do when you want your books re-

viewed and also want the best journalists to write their books for you. When the editor of the *Washington Post* guarantees that he will "steer author friends clear of you," you've got a headache you don't need.

**The Katharine deal:** On Dec. 19, 1979, the word came down from Jovanovich that HBJ would dump *Katharine the Great*. Within two months the unsold books were destroyed.

Graham was more than pleased with the decision Jovanovich made to obliterate *Katharine the Great*. Three days after Davis got the word that her book had been killed, Graham wrote a thank you letter to Jovanovich saying that she was "tremendously relieved" that he had dropped the book. "The whole theme of the book is so fanciful," she wrote, "that it defies serious discussion: that Ben, Phil, and others worked for the CIA..."

Jovanovich replied in a language that only the well-heeled seem to understand. "Dear Kay," he wrote on Jan. 15, 1980. "You are generous to write me as you have. I cannot tell you how pained I am by the circumstances which have caused you, quite unnecessarily, distress and concern. If ever we should meet again..."

Jovanovich concluded by granting that although this "has been a

fast, don't they?"

This bit of *noblesse* correspondence required yet another note from Graham on January 22: "Dear Bill: Thank you for your terribly nice letter. I was full of admiration anyway for what you did and for the way you did it. Now I am all the more so."

Two of America's most prominent protectors of the First Amendment chit-chatting away about how they were able to kill a book which one of them found embarrassing and the other found detrimental to his business interests. It was, to say the least, one of the darker moments in American journalism.

**An untouchable:** Before Davis knew it, she had the disease writers fear most. She was "an unpublishable." She was *that* woman who wrote *that* scurrilous book about that great publisher/liberal Katharine Graham. No one wanted to touch her book. Avon, Warner, Dell and Fawcett all turned down offers to republish *Katharine the Great*.

In addition to being unpublishable, Davis also became an untouchable. Friends and fellow writers, including "many so-called liberals and progressives in Washington," began to shun her. "People were afraid to incur the wrath of the *Post*," Davis remembers. "No one wanted to lose out on having their

## It was, to say the least, one of the darker moments in American journalism. Two of America's most prominent protectors of the First Amendment chit-chatted away about how they were able to kill a book which one of them found embarrassing and the other found detrimental to his business interests.

bitter lesson for me, my feelings on this matter are not to be compared with your own.... P.S. Tell Donny [her son and current *Post* publisher] that Stefan—who was at Harvard and in Vietnam with him—is now a lawyer in California; and Peter, who came to your house that day of your birthday with me and my wife, is now himself a publisher.... The generations follow

op-ed pieces printed, so I became a non-person."

Davis reached a point where she could no longer function on a day-to-day basis. She stayed in bed until late afternoon. She borrowed money from her parents. She stopped reading. She lost weight. She thought of killing herself.

She eventually rebounded in June of 1982 and sued HBJ, which

quickly offered an out-of-court settlement of \$100,000. She accepted the offer. She was not willing, however, to accept that *Katharine the Great* was dead and buried.

**Uncovering a hidden past:** At the FBI building on Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue there is one entire room filled to the ceiling with the files and documents from the case of *United States vs. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*. Acting on a tip from a friend, Davis went over to the FBI and pored through boxes of declassified memoranda and reports. In all, she was able to piece together a series of events in which Bradlee had worked in cooperation with the CIA while serving as press attache at the U.S. Embassy in Paris in 1952.

On Dec. 10, 1952, the French newspaper *Le Monde* ran a story suggesting that the U.S. had gone quite mad in convicting the Rosenbergs. The Paris CIA chief went crazy when he read it. The agency was having a hard enough time selling the Cold War to a European public which feared that the McCarthy era was ushering in a new wave of fascism.

Three days after the *Le Monde* article appeared, according to State Department documents, the Paris CIA chief, Robert Thayer, dispatched Ben Bradlee to New York

to see who had set up a small publishing house called National Press. He offered to re-publish *Katharine the Great* and promised her that no copies would ever find their way into a shredder. Davis took him up on his offer and added the Rosenberg story and documents to the new edition.

By late July of this year, 10,000 copies of the new, improved *Katharine the Great* were slowly making their way into bookstores around the country.

"This is supposed to feel like a great victory for me," Davis reflected as people asked her to autograph their copies of *Katharine the Great* at the downtown Washington Doubleday Books. "I guess I feel all right. I've had to fight so hard. But it was inevitable that this book would be re-published, because I knew that somewhere I had the strength to stand up to nearly everyone who didn't believe me."

**Happy birthday, Madam Chairman:** As the final copies of the new edition of *Katharine the Great* were coming off the press in June, Washington was hosting the party of the decade. It seems that *everyone* was there: Supreme Court Justices White, Powell and O'Connor, most of the president's cabinet, senators and congressmen, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the heads of General Motors, Ford, IBM and Sony, the top executives from the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, Dow Jones, CBS, NBC and ABC and, of course, President and Mrs. Reagan. "It was the kind of homage usually paid only to the president at an inaugural," wrote the *L.A. Times*. But this bash wasn't for the president; it was for the chairman (as she refers to herself), Katharine Graham.

The occasion was her 70th birthday. Seated between President Reagan and her tennis partner, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Katharine Graham and her 600 "friends" (I didn't invite Margaret Thatcher because I don't know her well enough") dined from a menu of salmon, beef filet with cucumber sauce and summer vegetables. No reporters were allowed. No one asked her about the CIA, or about a little book once shredded, but now resurfacing, from a small publishing house.

"There is one word that brings us all together here tonight," *Washington Post* columnist Art Buchwald announced from the stage, to the din of nervous laughter in the audience. "And that word is *fear*."

If that was the case, someone must have forgotten to send an invitation to Deborah Davis. ■

**Michael Moore** is the former editor of the *Michigan Voice* and *Mother Jones* magazine. He has written for *The Nation*, *Columbia Journalism Review* and *Regardie's* magazine, where a version of this article initially appeared.

### Cases in point, not in print

*Katharine the Great* was not the first book to be what the industry euphemistically calls "unpublished." In 1973, Warner Communications killed a book by Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman entitled *Counter-Revolutionary Violence*. The book detailed how the U.S. had become the leading practitioner of terrorism against the people of the Third World. Warner President William Sarnoff, upon seeing the mock-ups of the ads for the newly-printed book that were to be placed in the *New York Times* and *The Nation*, ordered that the presses literally be halted and the 10,000 copies already printed be destroyed. Sarnoff, a contributor to Richard Nixon's campaigns, called the book "worth-

less and full of lies." Gerald Zilg was a little luckier. The first printing of his book, *Du Pont: Behind the Nylon Curtain*, sold out before the Du Pont family had a chance to react. But when they did—by bringing intense pressure against the publisher, Prentice-Hall—the Book-of-the-Month Club decided they wanted nothing to do with it. (The Du Pont Company threatened to cancel their advertising in *Time* and *Life*, both owned by the parent company that owns Book-of-the-Month Club.) Prentice-Hall stopped advertising the book, even though it was a critical and commercial success, letting it die an early death.

—Michael Moore

to get materials from the federal prosecutors on the Rosenberg case so that the agency could develop a counterattack in the European press. Bradlee wrote a 30,000-word summary and analysis of the government's case against the Rosenbergs.

Bradlee returned to Paris and began distributing the document to the press and interested groups. Within a few weeks the U.S. Embassy reported back to the State Department that the French newspapers had either stopped reporting about the Rosenbergs or softened their stance. The Bradlee document was given credit for this turnaround and was then distributed around the world where similar propaganda efforts were initiated.

Davis sat on the documents for three years after their discovery, afraid, as she put it, that "Ben Bradlee would ruin me again." Eventually she knew it was time to confront her fears and try to publish *Katharine* again. Chilean poet and author Ariel Dorfman took her aside at a writers' meeting, she says, and offered her a piece of friendly advice: "Don't stop writing, Debbie. If you stop, they win."

**Katharine, the Sequel:** In the spring of 1986 Davis received a call from Joel Joseph, a Washington at-



# Bork

Continued from page 3

dent. His recent speeches display the polemical petulance and imagined polarizations of an aging neo-conservative. He accuses his opponents of "nihilism" and "relativism." In private statements, he appears to have embraced the religious right's agenda. According to the *Washington Post*, Bork, in a 1985 private meeting with religious leaders, took William Rehnquist's position that states can impose school prayers on public-school children.

Bork's record on the appeals court has also been far from reassuring. Rather than demonstrating a certain pragmatism or conventional conservatism, he has displayed a menacing blend of his pro-business Chicago economics and his Nixon-era support for unrestrained executive power. In its study on Bork's decisions in non-unanimous cases,

the Public Citizen Litigation Group found that in eight decisions pitting business against government, Bork sided with business each time. In seven decisions pitting public interest groups against government, he backed the government. In labor cases, he ruled against labor four of five times. And in Freedom of Information suits, he ruled for the government in each of seven cases.

Bork's record on the court betrays his turn-of-the-century mentality. He rejected a Federal Energy Regulation Commission ruling barring a New Jersey utility from raising its prices to recoup not merely the cost but the expected rate of return on lost investments. He rejected a Labor Department ruling that the American Cyanamid Co. had to protect its women workers from the threat of lead poisoning. Instead, Bork backed the company's attempt to solve the problem by firing women between the ages of 16 and 50 who refused to be sterilized.

The only bright spot in Bork's record is his strong libel ruling in which he rejected Marxist philosopher Bertell Ollman's contention that he had been libelled by conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. While Bork's opinion sets a strong precedent against using libel suits to intimidate the media, his position may have been colored by the political views of the contestants. Bork's stand on other civil liberty and free-speech issues was more in line with the rest of his record. He ruled against the right of demonstrators to distribute leaflets or to sit in folding chairs outside the White House or the rights of homeless protestors to stage a sleep-in on the Washington Mall.

**No respect for precedents:** Bork and his defenders argue that even if his views on abortion, women's rights or reapportionment run against 30 if not 50 years of court history, Bork will not rush to overturn precedents. Like Justice Harlan, who slowed the

Burger Court's impulse to overturn the Warren Court's rulings, Bork will heed the legal doctrine of *stare decisis* (let decisions stand). But evidence shows that he has no respect for precedents.

In a 1985 interview with *District Lawyer*, Bork declared that "the court ought to be always open to rethink constitutional problems." A judge's "basic duty," he said, "is to the Constitution, not simply to precedent." As an appeals court judge Bork was supposed to limit himself to judging precedents. Bork acknowledged this in his confirmation hearings. "It seems to me that a lower-court judge owes a duty of absolute obedience to Supreme Court precedent," Bork said. But Bork continually defied precedents. The most dramatic case was that of *Dronenburg vs. Zech* in 1974.

Dronenburg, a career linguist and cryptographer, was discharged from the Navy for engaging in homosexual conduct. In rejecting Dronenburg's contention that his conduct was protected by the right to privacy, Bork displayed contempt for court precedent. He said that the court's privacy cases provided him with no "articulate Supreme Court principle."

Bork's decision in the case ignored or willfully distorted precedents. It showed that if he is confirmed as a Supreme Court justice, it is highly likely that he will attempt to make his own reactionary principles the law of the land. What will be at stake is not simply the Warren Court, but the whole thrust of the Court since the late '30s. What will be under attack is not simply abortion rights, but the rights of ordinary citizens to challenge either business or government power.

Bork is an unpleasant anachronism and a vivid reminder of where the Reagan administration, if left to its own devices, would like to lead the country. □

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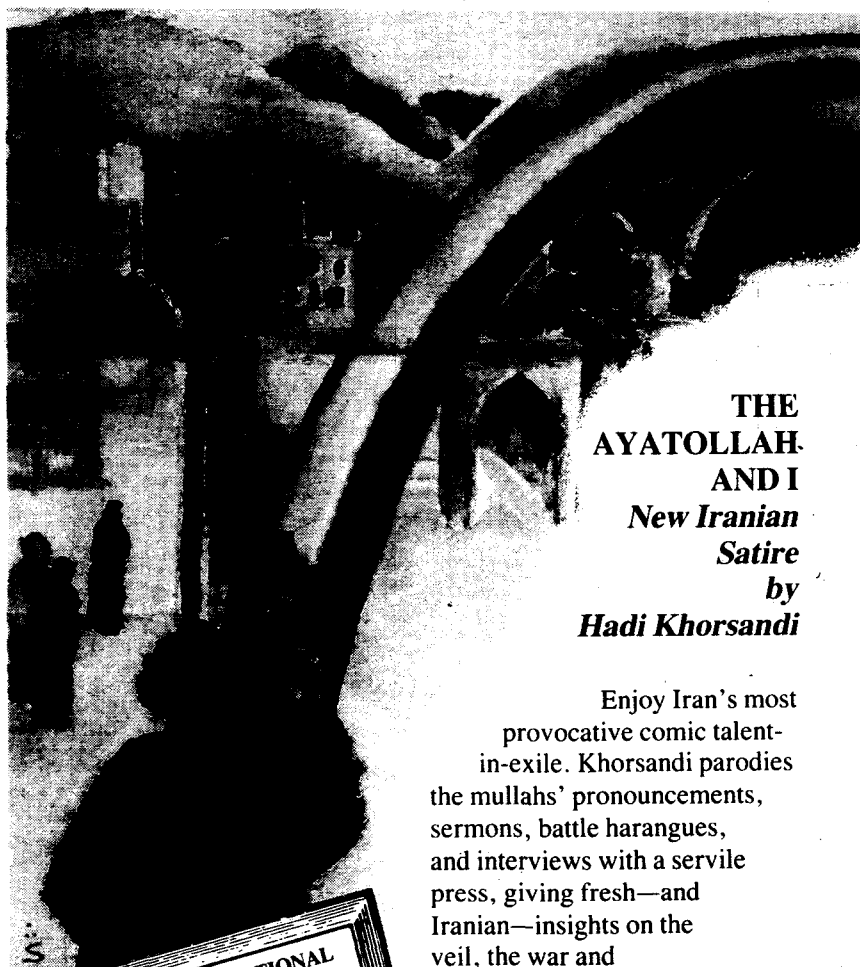
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is a product  
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Bob Bossin—that's Bossin  
with a capital "b" and it rhymes with "t" and  
that stands for thermonuclear conflagration.

By Doug Smith

WINNIPEG

HERE'S A TOUCH OF TURN-OF-THE-century quaintness about the stage. Canadian and provincial flags flank a banner welcoming the legendary Dr. Bossin. In front there's a rickety stand and a battered suitcase. The audience sits quietly, awaiting the arrival of the travelling medicine man.

When he strolls in with his satchel, Bob Bossin, long a staple figure on the Canadian folk music scene, looks every inch the part. He's wearing a snappy straw hat, a somewhat oversized white sports coat, suspenders and a huge tie, adorned with a painted likeness of Queen Elizabeth II. And he's crooning what he calls the "Deterrence Lullabye." It's the beginning of a 90-minute laughter-and-music filled pitch for Bossin's Home Remedy for Nuclear War—"absolutely guaranteed to prevent nuclear war or your money refunded." By show's end audience members are thronging the stage, dollar bills in hand to buy a bottle of the magical elixir.

**A dove hawks his wares:** By then they've heard him outline the dangers of nuclear numbness, met an American general, heard from a Soviet spokesman, been given a musical history of weaponry from the cross-bow to SDI, and been let in on how Star Wars is a Nicaraguan plot. The chorus tells it all:

*Sandinistas for Star Wars!  
Communists for the High Frontier!  
Every Yankee weapon in space  
is a weapon that's not here.*

And throughout it Bossin hasn't once stepped out of his snake oil salesman character. He sees the show as weaving together a lifelong desire to play the Robert Preston character in *The Music Man*, a longtime interest in nuclear issues and his experience as the music director for a Vancouver political theater group. "Working with them I began to wonder if I could do a whole show on disarmament and make it unpreachy."

The title came first. Bossin, never fully out of character, even off stage, notes, "I do fully believe that the remedy for nuclear war is a home remedy, something that will come from the ground up." But for a long time he doubted the metaphor would sustain a whole show. "But I looked into the history of the medicine show, and it is wonderful. As I read it I kept finding my structure; these guys had to outline the disease, deal with their competitors' products, people's expectations—and eventually they worked to the pitch."

The pitch—that people have to save themselves—wouldn't work as well as it does without Bossin's finely honed ironic sense of humor. Whenever the show threatens to lapse into the didactic Bossin injects a full measure of his satire. The formula works best when he dons his fur hat and becomes Andrei Bolkonsky, a visiting Soviet intent on allaying Canadian fears about the Russian threat.

The good comrade starts off by praising Canadian society. "You have freedom to speak. You have shirts with names! Extras of everything: extra shoes, extra political parties. In

Soviet Union you could not have second political party, everyone would join." By way of persuading the audience that Soviets are not "imperialist war mongrels" he recounts the Russian experience of World War II and goes on to outline Soviet peace initiatives. But the audience truly warms to Andrei when he assures them that the Soviets have no intention of taking over Canada: "If all the world was socialist, where would we get our wheat?"

**Folky roots:** Bossin made his name in Canada as founding member of Stringband, a folk music quartet that has been performing off and on since 1971. His quirky sense of humor, blended with a very rigorous approach to songwriting, has resulted in a half-dozen classic songs, including "The Secret of Life According to Satchel Paige," "Dief Will Be the Chief Again" (about former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker) and "The Canadian Dog" ("...his heart was big, though his brain was small...").

Most of his songs are sung by specific characters, and he will spend a year or more crafting a song to fit the character. "I was fascinated by the Karen Silkwood story and wrote a song I called 'The Ballad of Karen Silkwood,' but it never felt right and I never sang it in public.

"About a year after I had done that I was on the West Coast. I had some time off, it was a beautiful day and at one point my thoughts went, 'Oh, Jesus, I should do something about Silkwood.' I suddenly thought: Wait a minute. There had to be somebody in the nuclear industry a couple of years ago who said, 'It's a beautiful day, but we've got to do something about

that damned Silkwood woman.' And I was off." The finished product ("The Silkwood Woman") is a chilling, malevolent peek into that official's thoughts.

Bossin's been performing the show across Canada for the past year, with a tour of Ontario and the Maritimes slotted for this fall and hopes for an American tour in the new year. He notes that doing the show in 1987 is very different than it would have been in the early '80s. "In some communities the peace groups aren't there any more; in others they are down to a few people. But the show is gathering together those people, getting them laughing and getting them going again."

He ends the show the way any medicine man would—with letters of endorsement from satisfied consumers. "A woman in Queen Charlotte City took my remedy and declared her clothing store a nuclear-weapons-free zone. Hey, it's the only clothing store in town."

As he says, you don't have to be having a bad time just because you are saving the world. And Bossin ends his show by saying he does believe nuclear war is preventable. "We have on our side three mighty powerful allies: common sense, the human instinct for survival and this little bottle right here, Bossin's Home Remedy for Nuclear War." ■

**Doug Smith is a Winnipeg-based journalist and broadcaster.**

*Cassettes and scripts of Bossin's Home Remedy can be ordered from Bob Bossin, 5-2137 W. First St., Vancouver, British Columbia, V6K 1E7.*